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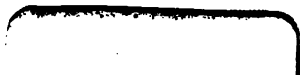


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THOUGHT AND THRIFT.

SUBJECTS IN EVERY LETTER OF THE
ALPHABET FOR ALL WHO LABOR
AND NEED REST.

*"The main disclosures lie in hourly Thought," and "Thrift is blessing
if men steal it not."—SHAKESPEARE.*

By Joshua Hill,

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

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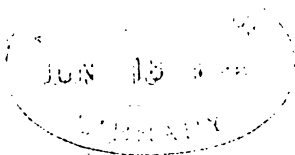
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The President's Office.

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Dedication.

*

TO MY MOTHER-IN-LAW, MRS. LEVI PREWITT, THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED. SHE IS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THOSE WHO ARE TRUE MOTHERS TO THE MOTHERLESS, AND WHO ARE AS GENIAL AND AT HOME IN SEWING-ROOM OR KITCHEN AS IN DRAWING-ROOM OR PARLOR. THEY ARE THE SALT AND TRUE BEAUTY OF THE EARTH.

THE AUTHOR.



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Aim, Subject, and Reason for this Work.

IN the selection of an agent to do a piece of work, we first wish to know if he be adapted to it. In purchasing even an article for domestic use, some knowledge of its make is at least desirable. So in a book or journal, where useful knowledge is published or important matters are discussed, the adaptability and opportunity of the author should be better known than is now usual.

Primarily, however, the subject and design of the work might better be developed, at least in outline. In this work the necessity of more thought, union, and business methods is shown and advised for the laboring people of to-day. They must have courage to assert their rights, as well as persistency in maintaining them. Attention and thought; Business ability and system; Courage and perseverance, are, of course, partially innate, but mostly self-acquired. These combined qualities represent the A B C of success in any undertaking.

A large and fertile brain, hard work, or a plucky perseverance alone, will not feed the family and secure a competence. No one will deny that practical lines must be observed and followed; the experience of others must be largely known and used, and cultivating efforts continued, to make a mark or ride the storms of life. The Almighty Power has not placed us here to pick off bread from native trees, nor made our lives like a tranquil sea.

We can, however, through our minds, hands, and systems, produce the multitude of articles of comfort and enjoyment in our markets, and make ships which ride the roughest waves. To teach and discuss the minutiae for the accomplishment of all these results, books innumerable have been written, schools founded, and individual efforts continuously made.

This book is the outgrowth of the varied successes of the great industrial world. It stands alone as an attempt in book-form to show the rights and needs of the men who are feeding the world and those who are supplying its comforts and conveniences, and to urge them to united action. They should have and enjoy their just portion of all the results of their work. To do this they must cultivate and use their brains, train them to business ideas and methods, and maintain their true interests with confident courage. These statements are not of an individual origin, but the sage counsel of true and philanthropic men in all ages. The Bible, Matthew xx. 7 and 8, says to the laborers, "Whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive," and "Call the laborers and give them their hire;" and standard authorities define *hire* as *recompense* or *equivalent*. The phrases from the Latin, "You sow for yourself, you should reap for yourself," and "Let him who has won it bear the palm," will ever be proper sentiments. The French have sayings, "Inordinate demands should meet with sturdy denials," and "Help yourself, and heaven will help you," which are applicable to the condition of the people of the United States to-day. The rich have inordinate desire to be richer, and help themselves most effectually in that direction with Attention, Business, and Courage. Laborers on the farm and in the shop help themselves by

longer hours, economy, harder and more direct blows. They thus neglect to make the sturdy denials and to use watchfulness to beat back the inordinate demands and financial self-helping schemes.

These statements are intended to apply to a large majority of these classes. The masses of the people may be selfish enough, but they are short-sighted in their selfishness. To use a homely adage, "they would spoil a knife worth a sixpence to dress a flint worth a penny." They would demonstrate over the leakage of a spigot while the bung is flowing full. They will hang around saloons to drink with a crafty politician while family and fortune are suffering at home. They will vote for selfish and dishonest candidates for positions of trust for a familiar hand-shake at election time only. They will put power, confidence, and the control of their wealth in the hands of men whom, in private affairs, they would not trust in a minor degree, because they belong to "my party." Party is a plausible name and device to make voters support unworthy men for important offices and endorse principles against their better judgment. Party has no permanent body, soul, or conscience. It is not the same to-day as yesterday, nor will it be in the future. It leads to prejudice and hate, and on to peril and poverty. As all rules have exceptions, we find them in party leaders and the shrewd financiers who back them. They are faithful to party so long as it pays and fattens them, and so long as the masses will rally to their chosen nominees and plausible platforms. This is true of parties and politicians as they exist to-day. A crisis is imminent, though yet hidden like the lightning amid the clouds. It will apprise the politician that the masses have taken possession of their own votes;

that they will unite in nominating and electing men of their own choice and interest, and will continue to do so either in or outside of either party. It is the purpose of this book to assist the impending movement by furnishing reliable information and certified official statistics proving submitted statements. It opposes the blarney politician as being as injurious to the country as is the red-handed anarchist. It opposes sectional and class legislation as against natural laws and the vital interests of the great, plain people. It opposes the present methods of receiving and counting ballots at elections, being accessories to bribery and fraudulent returns, and defines and supports the Australian system. It condemns and opposes the senseless but effective claims and hypocrisy of election canvassers, which appeal to prejudice, envy, old and worn-out issues, unreasonable threats and predictions, and the covering up thereby of the real and earnest interests. It opposes subsidies of every shape, direct or indirect, open or covert, as having the ultimate effect of making the rich richer, and the poor poorer. Subsidies and franchises have made kings among us in railroads, landed estates, and other things, and are making more in sure but insidious ways. Loans which take from one man, in any manner, to put into the pockets of another, are unnatural, suspicious, and in the end ruinous to the former man. Capitalists appreciate the old proverb, "One *take it* is worth more than two *thou shalt have it*," and not only two, but by modern methods, two score. They say: "Give us a bonus, a land-grant; release us from taxes, or tax yourselves for our support, and we will make you rich, give you markets, and make the desert blossom like the rose."

The ancient Romans were accustomed to say, "T

make a desert of a country, and call it peace;" for "Peace," sang Milton, "hath her victories no less renowned than war." They talk "with a zeal which beguiles labor," and fully believe in the French injunction, "Let him save himself who can," for "the law protects those who watch not the negligent against their own carelessness." Let the people be no longer deceived. Are not our farms becoming more exhausted, and the fences and buildings less valuable each year? Are not foul weeds increasing apace? Do not the tools and machines of the shop and farm become less valuable each year—break more easily, and give out sooner? The shoes and stockings, the cloth, the underwear, do not they sooner wear out than formerly? And the prices of all these and the multitude of other needful things are fixed and kept up by trusts, pools, corners, and other extorting and oppressive operations. That mortgages on the homes of the masses are increasing with frightful rapidity, this book will show plainly and beyond a doubt. The individual product of the American mechanic each day exceeds that of the mechanic of any other country, and the same holds good of the machinery of American manufacture. The actual cost of manufacture has been greatly reduced, and much more so than is generally known, especially during the last twenty-five years; yet the family expenses of the great masses remain about the same. Many things are cheaper, but less durable. The custom, too, of the times demands many new things, and the producers should equally enjoy them with others.

It is well known that these brief initial statements do not overcolor but simply outline the existing general conditions in this country. The full facts would at once be considered by many as a bugbear, and their author

an alarmist. While the masses in this land are better conditioned than those of any other, it is, of course, because the country is newer; its virgin forests, lands, and mines still less exhausted, more cheaply developed; and the people more enterprising, intelligent, and thrifty through these advantages and their freedom, which is not yet limited by want of space. All history agrees in the statement that, as countries grow older, the masses become more fettered, farms and their products less remunerative, and the net earnings of labor reduced. Thus skilled labor in the iron rolling mills of Massachusetts, by the last United States census, averaged \$2.70 per day; while in Ohio, where living expenses are less, the average was \$3.87, and in newer States as high as \$4.62, for the same work.*

While all are interested in the success of the farmer, artisan, and other laborers, and the growth of their occupations and industries, still, as the love of self and family exceeds that of country, the tendency of the times is to hamper and to sap them. The wrongfully increased cost of family necessities through subsidies and combinations, competition in labor from unrestricted immigration, speculative booms in houses and rents, and the general disposition to reduce wages regardless of the profit resulting from the work, are among the leading causes of this tendency. Manufacturers and all business and professional men can and do increase their prices to accord with increased expenses, but the balance of labor must pay these increased prices, and take for their own products what they can get; yet they have no voice in fixing the prices of their purchases.

These are but a few of the matters which are candidly and freely discussed and ventilated in this work, asser-

* Gen. Lieb.

tions on all material points being proved by statistics. Without malice, envy, or ambition, what concerns those who truly earn their bread by the sweat of their brows shall be published herein to them reliably, and without party coloring, sectional enmity, or other influence than the author's personal interest in the cause, which is the sole object of its issue.


Goldsmith's oft-quoted lines,

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay,"

ring often in the ears of those who have their country's happiness and perpetuity at heart. To such as have passed their lives upon farms, or have been brought into close relations with the laboring classes, the reference in the foregoing lines to "ills" and "decay" would be construed as meaning them, in contrast to the country's numerous millionaires.

Besides the past and present farm life of the author, and his savings-bank and other business associations with the working people of the Northeastern, Central, and Western parts of the United States, his observation of their condition extends throughout this country, Europe, and her various outside possessions.

Any word or information that awakens and elevates the working people, and causes an effort to advance their interests, rights, and benefits, will also make them better citizens, better prepared to meet future issues intelligently, and to secure a competence for their families and old age. Impressed with this idea, and feeling that no monument or renown would make debility or old age more satisfied and content than a knowledge that a sacrificing duty was done in trying to benefit one's own class and occupation, this book is submitted to an indulgent public.



AGRICULTURE.

IN agriculture, or farming, is included the bulk of balance of labor not covered by the building and chanical trades, and the employments growing ou and connected with them.

Good farming is dependent on good machinery cluding tools, and on good buildings. Doubtless, in infancy, neither was used, even the hoe and hut be unknown. Among the first records of producing f the soil, to be found in any detail, is the raising of c in Chaldea and Egypt. Sowing seed in the valley of Nile, and turning on the swine to tread it into the s was one of the methods in use, and every process planting and harvesting was of the simplest. As po lation grew more dense, and other climates and s were occupied, better processes were developed, and m varied were the productions. Animal power and n tools were gradually brought into use, and about 1, years before Christ "a plow with a beam, share, s handles" is mentioned. Then agriculture is spoken as being in a flourishing condition, and artificial draini was resorted to. Grecian farming in the days of prosperity attained, in some districts, a creditable vancement, and the implements in use were, in princip similar to many of modern construction. Horses, cati

swine, sheep, and poultry were bred and continually improved by importations from other countries. Manuring of the fields was practiced; ground was often plowed three times before seeding; and sub-soiling and other mixings of soils were in some cases employed. A great variety of fruit was successfully cultivated, and good farming was a source of pride to the people. The Romans considered it, as Washington did, the most honorable and useful occupation. Each Roman citizen was allotted a piece of land of from five to fifty acres by the Government, and in after times, when annexations were made, up to five hundred acres were allotted. The land was generally closely and carefully cultivated, and the most distinguished citizens considered it their greatest compliment to be called good farmers. The Roman Senate had twenty-eight books, written by a Carthaginian farmer, translated for the use of the people. The general sentiment among the more intelligent was to hold small farms and till them well; to protect their fields from winds and storms, and to defer building or incurring avoidable expense until fully able. There were evidently observing wiseacres in those days, and one gives his opinion of a good milch cow in the following quaint manner: "A tall make; long; with very large belly; very broad head; eyes black and open; horns graceful, smooth, and black; ears hairy; jaws straight; dew-lap and tail very large; hoofs and legs moderate." He, however, spoils confidence in his observations by adding that, "After oxen get through plowing, and come home heated and tired, they must have a little wine poured down their throats, and, after being fed a little, be led out to drink; and if they will not drink, the boy must whistle to make them." While Roman agriculture was in advance of that of Greece, and

exceedingly prosperous, it is a sad admonition to record that, when wealth and power became so great in the empire, farming declined, and was carried on principally by bondsmen. Pliny speaks of plowing ground, in that portion of Africa belonging to the Romans, "with a wretched ass and an old woman" for a team. Very little mechanical power was used, the water-wheel being unknown until over a hundred years after the Christian era, and it being a thousand years more before the power of wind was utilized. With the depression and neglect of agriculture came the downfall of the country, and the farming, being done by slaves, permitted no recuperation. The invaders of the country from the East and North established a new system of cultivation, and drainage and irrigation were instituted.

Thus were the resources of a part of Spain, then under Roman rule, developed to the extent of producing a tax of \$30,000,000 annually. It seems no new thing to tax the farmers to the utmost, and kill the layer of the golden egg. Even before large portions of Europe had seen the light of civilization, important manufacturing and commercial towns naturally grew up as a sure result of successful agriculture.

Holland, Belgium, and Britain were slow to improve agriculture, but made sure progress, as those countries show to-day. In the sixteenth century but few vegetables, and no Indian corn, was grown in England, the people chiefly subsisting on barley bread. The tenantry led the lives of slaves, without the assurance of support in sickness and old age which slaves command, and the monks and crusaders were the only friends the farmers found. Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, who is said to have been the first writer on English agriculture, notes in his

book that "a Houseband cannot thryve by his corne withoute cattell, nor by his cattell withoute corne," and that "shepe is the most profitablest cattell any man can have." Since those days agriculture has reached conditions approaching perfection, and these countries have proportionately advanced. Whether the conditions and incomes of the farmers themselves have advanced in corresponding ratio will be shown by the accompanying statistics.

Thirteen centuries were required to improve upon the plowing of two-thirds of an acre, which in Roman parlance was a *jugarum*, necessitating the labor of two days. The eighteenth century made great improvements in the modes of farming, especially in the matter of tools, machinery, and farm literature; while *this* century has made marked progress in the raising and harvesting of crops, buildings for farm purposes, and a remarkable improvement in horses, cattle, and other farm stock. Salt was found to be a fertilizer, and vegetation proven to be more beneficial on land in summer than leaving it bare and unoccupied, as had formerly been the theory. Manures were found to be of increased value when mixed, and guanos were introduced.

The Germans and French began improvement in farming before the English, and have well sustained it.

Since the primitive years of the United States, her agriculture has attained unparalleled growth, and remains her chief pride and revenue. Those were the years that tried the farmers' souls. They had everything to learn; forests to clear off; seeds and conveniences to secure; roads to open; new grounds to cultivate; buildings to erect, and hostile Indians to watch and fight. South Carolina was the first State to organize

an agricultural society, which was accomplished in 1784. Now nearly all the counties of every State have similar organizations, besides those of the States themselves. That they are materially and socially beneficial is unquestioned, barring the effect of horse-racing and its betting accompaniment. A step further in a business, social, and united way, or even in lieu of the "fairs," will be further discussed under the head of "Organizations."

Among the more valuable auxiliaries of the farmer are the agricultural journals of the country, for which hundreds of thousands of dollars are annually expended. With few exceptions they fill the measure of their publication, and the information they furnish, if properly and judiciously used, can have none but a healthy effect. While nine out of every ten farmers doubtless do not do all, nor as well as they know, the benefit and incitement of knowing more can but be beneficial. It is as a bill of fare at an eating-house—while the consumption of every article named therein would be death, the large selection at hand renders possible a wholesome meal. It must be conceded, however, that the considerations of good prices and good markets are of far more importance than large productions, which often exceed the demand, and diminish values. Producers in all other lines understand this; act to obviate it, and have succeeded at the expense of those who have not united to prevent it. The more the farmer produces, and the more he curtails his markets, the lower the prices and profits, the more he has to handle, and the more he exhausts his land and labor. He must attend to his business in a business way, and have courage to maintain its interests. He should not act rashly, nor entirely according to his own mind; for if yielding and concerted

action be needed by any people, it is needed by the farmers. The nature of their lives and business leads to independent thought and action, and it seems more difficult for them than for others to lay aside partisanship, prejudice, and customs. But their stubbornness is relaxing, and exists to-day in a lesser degree than ever before. Less than a hundred years ago there was no confidence in the methods proposed for the improvement of stock, fertilizing land, nor economizing labor by the use of machinery. In some districts of Great Britain up to 1830, farm laborers went about destroying all machinery. The laws forbade any one who could not make a plow to use one, or to drive unless he could make the harness.

It was equally remarkable that they opposed laws beneficial to them, and favored many antagonistic to their interests.

Many farmers of to-day well remember the wooden plow and the prejudice against all machinery; when they themselves wore home-spun clothes, and remember, too, how well they wore. A farmer can realize the change by visiting an agricultural or grange store of to-day, or by looking over his own farm, through his own buildings, and at his improved stock. He will find a machine or tool for doing almost every kind of work, which are more appreciated when contrasted with former methods. He will also experience the improvement in fruits, flowers, and fertilizers, as well as in the crops. In fact, the farmer is well advanced in every material respect, except the more important things of prices, markets, and taxation. As to prices, a very forcible illustration is made in the following fact, supported by a farmer's experience in Illinois. He sold his corn to a

distiller. Each bushel, which makes four gallons of whisky, was retailed at \$16. After paying the Government tax of ninety cents per gallon, freight and service to the railroad of \$1, and \$7 to the retailer, there remained \$4.10 for the manufacturer; while the farmer, for raising and marketing it, got but thirty cents. And again, while American growers of wool get an average of seventeen cents per pound for their 308,000,000 pounds of wool (U. S. Report for 1885), they, with others, buy back the same wool (and an average of about one quarter more, which is imported annually) at an average price of six dollars per pound. Of this, the Government gets near ten cents per pound on the nearly 80,000,000 pounds imported, which equals two and one-fifteenth cents per pound on the amount manufactured. Hence the handler, manufacturer, and merchant receive the balance, or the difference between the nineteen and one-fifteenth cents the farmer and the Government get, and the six dollars per pound, which is estimated to be a fair average price paid for woolen goods. Other instances exist, and are too numerous to mention.

It is impossible to compute or closely estimate the amount which the abolition of all import duties would raise prices of farm products. The free exchange of all products or commodities of all nations without any asking of boot in a trade of equal values, would necessarily make an immense draft on the surplus of our farm products, which always adds to prices proportionately. That such abolition of, or freedom from, duties would make a greater demand for manufactured articles, and thus by enlarging markets enlarge industries and prices, is being freely argued even by many manufacturers.

While such a move might be bold, broad-gauged, and

just, and succeed largely in raising prices of our farm products, it would by many people be considered rash and risky. Though we sold to other nations in 1887 about \$160,000,000 worth of manufactured goods, as per the United States reports of that year, and to both high tariff and free trade countries, yet not all manufacturers are prepared for and enabled to withstand a sudden and radical change. Many are of opinion, that notwithstanding our intelligent workmen; rapid, efficient, and varied machinery; and the fact of the large and greatly increasing yearly exportations of manufactured articles, that a protective tax to raise the manufacturer's prices is highly necessary. None who are intelligent and honest will ever say, however, that the high rate of protection on these articles, compared with that of *farm products*, will do anything but lower the prices of the latter and raise the prices of the former. It is exceedingly doubtful if the tax on agricultural imports keeps out enough of the farm products to be worthy of consideration; but that it closes many foreign markets against them is beyond question. Whether one cent per pound will keep out any foreign beef when this is the cattle country of the world, or butter or cheese at four cents per pound, milk at one-fifth of its price, lard and hams at two cents per pound, or hay at two dollars per ton, is the question. It is like carrying tea to China to bring agricultural products here.

From the patriarchal ages to the present, wherever God's great sun has met the other forces essential to produce from the ground, with some blessed exceptions, have the farmers had the chief labor, loads, and gibes to bear. In ancient Rome, and later England, where classes were so wide apart, the owners of the soil "did live like

lords," but the real farmers toiled like slaves. Poetry and the sentiment of farm life never rose at five to milk the cows, feed the stock, and do the greater daily, yearly work, and all its drudging details. Those heaven-blessed, rural dew-drops, who live in cities and loaf the summer away "on nature's lovely face," never bound wheat from "early morn to twilight's witching hour," shucked corn in either cold or mud, or even picked the nuts from chestnut burrs at fifty cents per peck. It is unlikely, too, that they ever closed a day of work by "picking chickens" for the market or peeling apples "for to dry" till ten o'clock P.M.

While full sympathy is accorded to the artisan and all workers for wages, yet their hours are shorter, their entertainments more varied, and a life on the farm always open to them. No apprenticeship is necessary on the farm.

The farmers of America will redeem the record of the past. The common schools, the bright intellects, and the bold courage they possess will drive back ignorance, sectional and even national prejudice, and their manhood will assert the interests of occupation and home. Attention, Business, and Courage, applied to the farm in the prices of what is bought and sold, in the markets and in the taxes paid, are *one hundred* times as important as the necessary arts of producing as much as possible, working all hands for what they will bear, and economizing to the very verge of stint. Knowing it to be strong language, and certain to meet the charge of partisan, Southern, English, or some other prejudicing name, it is here clearly and purposely declared that farmers are their own enemies and robbers when they vote for any subsidy, direct or indirect, insidious, open, sly, or public—

except it be for the gradual letting down of pampered interests through pure human sympathy. They who bleed themselves to build up *interests* which care not a jot or a tittle for them, also bleed their families and fellow-men—interests which pool and combine and extort through trusts; which are already giants, and own the mortgages on the farms, the stocks of banks and of railroads, so much the subjects of complaint; and which also ruin competitors, unless they join their consolidated and private leagues. Farmers' votes have so far cut off all the safeguards of competition. The party lash is circled; the English bull is trotted out; the rebel flag unfurled with the cry of "Save us, or they will ruin us." The big, rich, blubbing, over-fed manufacturer of to-day cries: "I am an infant, suckle me. I sell goods throughout the world at the world's values, but you must pay me more—only forty-seven per cent. more—it is only six hundred dollars for about four hundred dollars' worth. I close foreign markets to your products largely, because I must charge the bonus for exchanges, and make thereby your products, which I use, cheaper to me." This is a matter for earnest attention and of pure, simple business. The United States census says that when duties have been low, the farming States have improved in wealth along with the others; but when duties or tariff taxes have been high, they have run far behind. (See the certified statistics at the end of this book in Appendix.)

In 1850 the farmers of this country owned near one-half of its property, and it continued in the same proportion up to 1860, when the high duties were imposed. From then we surely trace a continuous decline until 1880, when the farmers owned but a little over one-fourth, instead of the one-half they owned only twenty years

before. The mortgages for millions on their farms are not deducted for debt in the above computation from the tax list. Study the statistics for yourselves; for this is but one of the straws. If you have hard times while you are producing millions, you are liable to exhaust laborers and lands further, and mortgage your farm to an Eastern infant, say of Massachusetts, which trebled her wealth *per capita* from 1860 to 1880. This same State, from 1850 to 1860, only increased her wealth 15 per cent., while the increase of Illinois for the latter period was near 177 per cent. On the other hand, this latter State, from 1860 to 1880, or twice the prior period, only doubled her wealth *per capita*.*

Illinois, too, is an exceptional State, and exported more breadstuffs, provisions, and high wines than the people of any other State in the Union. She thus obtained more foreign capital than any other State during the twenty years of protection, but yet accumulated but one-half the wealth accumulated by Massachusetts, a State which exports comparatively nothing. A grave question still follows: Of this increase of wealth, even in Illinois, how much did the farmers get? The continuance of this story is left to the proper headings of this work.

If this much be treason, Jefferson and Jackson Democracy, or saviors of British gold, they who harp upon these strings must make the most of them. If being reared among the factories of the Northeast on a farm, engaged in business and farm life for twenty years in the Central and Western States, and having voted for one political party as often as the other, owing to men and measures, make one a rebel, Democrat, or abject advocate of English interests, then the writer is all of these.

* Census 1880, vol. 7, pp. 4 and 13.

Though the favoring of the abolition of high duties is as honorable as was favoring the abolition of slavery thirty years ago, yet an endeavor is made to cast a cloud of horror and disgrace over its supporters for cause, as was then resorted to. All you who wait for rebel brigadiers to charge on you, Democrats to ruin the land, and for British gold to buy you, will wait until the millionaires have you as tenants, the imperialists as subjects, and the floating vote all bought by money stolen indirectly from you.

The commonest kind of common sense will, with intelligence and the mastery of prejudice, make the American farmers oppose costly coast defenses, large standing armies, endurance for an hour of monopolies and trusts, and the continuance of the unequalled colossal tariff tax. The latter costs each farmer an average of at least two hundred dollars per year in increased price of purchases alone, besides the loss of most of the foreign markets and the increase of price which they would cause for his products. The laborer would favor the same, because his cost of living is increased fully fifty per cent. by it, and the labor market open to the world, which, like the farmer's market, is virtually unprotected. There is as much difference in the prices of labor of the same work and hours in the different States of this country, where free trade is total, as between any other enlightened country and this. On the same basis of business sense, the merchant and other business men of moderate capital, as well as many fair, foreseeing manufacturers who do not want the earth, nor want to be wrecked by revolution, will favor gradual reduction of duties. But there is another class who do want the whole world and its population, and who will venture their all for more. They think there

cannot be too much of a good thing, and will not be enough. This class demand and labor for the tariff duties. Every country, which has indulged in protection of any industry, when young, at the expense of the others, has discovered this class when it is necessary to take away the public taste. This was to the bitter end and awful threat by the nobility of England, and once, when France reduced, Napoleon was forced to inform the iron manufacturers that they would be held personally responsible for the effects of any discontent their opposition might cause. In the advancement of farmers, many of them doubtless gone to extremes, especially in purchasing machinery, expensive stock-breeding, and getting into debt. This again brings into consideration the business department; courageous, unanimous action; and the vesting of the results of the progress that is due to them.

These are the live demands and issues of to-day—social, political, or both. They are among the interests of all farmers and stock-growers, and of every man and family whose support is dependent on produce from the soil. Speculators; mining, railroad, and ship companies; inventors, contractors, manufacturers, merchants, bankers, and brokers are all comprehensive business men with sharpened wits. Financial profits are their whole study, aim, and ambition, in contrast with the production with chance profits, like the farmer and his dependents. When the farmer of to-day talks of "the grand old party;" when he votes indebtedness on his property for subsidies to corporations; when he is netted by the theory of building up consumers' side after buying and supporting them; and when he taxes himself, in any way, to contribute to *national*

and independence, he is deceived, and is on the down grade. Charity is said to begin at home.

While the wealth of the American farmer has been on the decrease, *pro rata*, the wealth of the nation increased, from 1850 to 1880, by the last U. S. census, nearly \$36,500,000,000, or over six-fold; and it is to-day the richest nation on the earth, being nearly \$300,000,000 richer than Great Britain. He not only injures himself, but his family, and the farm and stock interests entire. When *they* go, his country will go too; for all history demonstrates it as following. A government is for the purpose of maintaining peace and justice; to secure to all what they earn and have, and to preserve the right to, and the use of it. When we go outside of these, we are doing a useless, entangling, and dangerous thing, especially for the masses of our people, of whom the farmers and other laborers are considered the bulk. It opens subterranean channels, hidden doors, and intricate devices to reach the earnings of the people, and the shrewd, grasping, and designing make it their sole business to find them. They not only succeed largely, but open new avenues of entrance and escape. They are a thousand-fold worse than the rats in the corn-crib. Eternal vigilance being the price of liberty, these shrewd "legal" avenues and drains make Attention, Business, and Courage emphatically necessary day and night. If for want of time or means either must be neglected and suffer, let it be the farm or shop, but never the general interests, such as markets, prices, the effects of legislation, and the entire financial management of your business. Most intelligent farmers acknowledge that they have been cents wise and dollars foolish; that they have not made proper and sufficient effort to be able to have

some voice in the prices of what they sell, and more knowledge of a proper price which they should pay for what they buy; that they have not read and thought more of political economy for their business than for the nation; that what they know of the latter they have not unitedly or even singly made a proper and economic use of by voice or vote; that they have not tried to simplify or have honestly explained the meaning of the terms employed or the effect on themselves of laws and taxes, direct and indirect. They also acknowledge their ignorance on the questions of the transportation of their products, foreign markets, patent rights, high, low, or no duties, and even have clung to and been moved by prejudices, instead of principles and interests. They have not gone deep enough to find that all subsidies, stealings, speculations, excesses, unnatural profits made in their productions through agreements under various names, are all paid with interest by them.

The benefits and profits, which were promised to them, are diverted to the enrichment of monopolies.

Must the "patient, plodding farmer" continue to decline under these burdens, or will he free himself and rise to his proper position? There is no permanent standstill in nature or business. The farmer must go down, as have his predecessors of other countries, or move coolly, perpetually, intelligently, bravely, and unitedly to assert and maintain his business, and his just and vital interests. With the brains, education, and American genius which our present farmers possess, they can, if they will, keep themselves and their honorable business apace with others and with the times. They still have the numbers and the voting power, but they must act together, choose wise and honest leaders,

and stand with them to support all men and measures that support and sustain them. Such action is necessary in this age and condition of the business world.

Organizations among farmers have been found to be difficult and cumbersome, but are beginning to be reasonably successful, and a general and correct history of them appears elsewhere in this work. It is reasonably clear and certain that the solving of the problem of an organization among farmers lies in the educating and arousing of them to attend to their business in a business way, and act courageously for their interests. They must cease to regard party withes and wires, even former alliances and customs, politicians, and town traders. They must vote and work, as those of other interests do, for the nomination and election of candidates of the leading political parties of the day who will pledge themselves to advance the interests of the farm and of general labor. "The wise man changes his mind; the fool never." If a farmer, be for farmers' interests, as others are for theirs. (See article headed "Political Parties.")

Architecture and Building.

These are commonly classed together, and with the several branches of labor identified with them. They, of course, have a most important, varied, and ancient relation to the human race. From the most amusing designs of the simplest construction, their scope reaches to buildings which surprise men that man can do so much.

The first style of architecture is understood as confined to the barbarous nations, and of this we have but little knowledge, save the lingering and mouldering remains. These are found mostly by excavation, and show but little of art and genius. From close personal inspection of the Aztec ruins in Mexico, nothing was found indicative of even an average laborer's genius or workmanship.

The second style of architecture began with the Egyptians, Greeks, and Assyrians, and includes that of to-day. The two latter nations used wood as a basis for construction, while the Egyptians employed mud and unburnt bricks. There remain sufficient fragments of their early construction from which, in addition to the history of them, we learn of the great antiquity of the use of stone. Everywhere are found remarkable indications and remains of edifices, which show the early knowledge of certain degrees of architecture. Some of

them were, at one time, supposed to be the works of giants, and it will probably never be known who constructed them. Though no mortar or cement was used, the quality of the work and weight of the material have made their walls endure. Various forms of laying stone and constructing gates—sometimes arched—were practiced, and the buildings inclosed by the walls were erected without system, save that a central location was reserved for public meetings. Much of the history of their palaces is not confirmed by the researches of archæologists, as much of the grandeur and romance which our later poets have attached to the present castles of Europe is dissipated by personal visits. The underground vaults, which were probably used for guarding treasures, were circular, lined with sheets of bronze, and were finally used as tombs. The wonderful canals, hanging gardens, and temples of the Babylonians are conceded to show much progress. Wars and time have obliterated much of the works of all those peoples, especially in their cities. Perishable material has also aided to defeat our curiosity as to the advancement and intelligence of the builders. The islands of the Indian Ocean are strewn with ruins supposed to have been once sacred to Buddhist priests. Nothing in the world's history exceeds the Chinese wall for immensity. The Egyptians combined enormous proportions with art and quite complete mechanical science. The walls of their pyramids, tombs, and palaces were literally covered with hieroglyphics done in the most artistic style and manner. The habitations of the great mass of people, who did the labor, are but little known of, but are supposed to have been mere huts. The edifices of the Grecian, Etruscan, and Roman types were noted for their elegant

and-classic appearance, rather than for size and durability. The vast variety of magnificent public buildings and public works within the limits of the Roman Empire will probably never be excelled anywhere. The baths, even, were equal to the palaces in splendor and luxurious extravagance. Indolence undermined the vitality of the intelligence of the empire. The oppressed plebeians were too ignorant to cope with the Northern invaders, and the empire fell because of an effeminate, aristocratic administration. Thus a nation, many centuries old, with 120,000,000 people, made the most disastrous collapse in history in a few years after the seed had been sown by a weak but wealthy patrician senate. The bone and sinew (the laboring classes) failed to assert their rights and purifying influence; hence were politically paralyzed and helpless. They lacked Attention, Business habits, and Courage; and their all was lost, their families ruined, and the greatest nation on earth was a total and an eternal wreck. The richest and noblest architectural designs and accomplishments ever known were ruined and brought to ignoble purpose, and a new world had to be peopled and utilized to reproduce their like.

Our country is yet very far behind the old world in the dimensions and magnificence of its edifices. Well-lighted, ventilated, and comfortable houses, with a sufficient number of rooms, are of more worth and interest. In these respects, as well as in their neat and attractive appearance, the homes of our beloved land are preëminently in the lead.

It is supposable that more elaborate, probably extremely lavish, edifices will be reared here, though they may be more of the temporary and gorgeous than

of the permanent and artistic styles. The wealth of the country is rapidly accumulating in the hands of a few men, who mostly have limited educations and uncultivated tastes, so that its monuments in their buildings are unlikely to be very beneficial, or even admirable to their descendants.

As a preservative to the noble and enduring in architectural plans and specifications, we have the benefit of most of those which have preceded, from which designs, dimensions, and details can generally be obtained through the immortalizing printing press. As wealth accumulates and men decay, we shall have princely palaces, awe-inspiring cathedrals and temples, which will make the poor, of short and simple annals, cast their brow. Amphitheatres, arches, columns, baths, and mausoleums, with coruscated ceilings, brilliantly frescoed walls, and floors of costliest mosaics; perhaps others, under other names. Capitols we already have, which are imposing, grand, and costly. These are possibly now necessary to supply to our average legislative bodies the looked-for awe and dignity. As to the abodes of the producers, they themselves—for no one else will—must look sharply, and at once. Their own thinking, managing, and voting will determine whether they go back to huts, as tenants, with those dearest to them next to slaves, or act and advance with proper thought and courage while they can. We must love and benefit our country; but these things, like charity, begin at home. When war comes, we must fight for the country; but in these "piping times of peace," beware! There is more danger from lurking, quiet crawling, insidious enemies of health, pocket, and home, than there is of the roaring warrior or the thundering storm-clouds. Chains and burdens are easier to ward off

than to throw off. Not that the country will forge these chains, but shrewd, selfish, financiers, corporation lawyers, and their class use the legislatures, and thus the laws, to get an unequal share for themselves of what they do not labor to produce. They make specious, plausible arguments for aids and subsidies, and abuse the patriotism of the masses. The men who gain wealth honorably, and refuse to join lobbying combinations, are few, but very creditable; the others are many, and now stand the only menace and danger of this land. They breed discontent, righteous envy, hatred, and anarchy. If not cut off at once by the masses, they will become an untutored aristocracy and a ruling class, with minds uncultivated, except in gaining property, and hearts unbent, except to their own blood and interests.

Give every man full opportunity to have his own neat, comfortable home unencumbered, and urge him to secure it, and the happiness and perpetuity of this good-theoried Government is assured. With proper laws, properly administered, and with good habits, every man can do this in this new land, and without exhausting himself and his family in drudgery and sacrifice. The American women, as a class, are worthy of such efforts, and will faithfully assist in securing a family home.

Attention, Business, and Courage.

As one of the prime essentials of every man's opportunities in life, Attention to Business demands especial consideration. It is necessary in any undertaking to apply those principles from which one may be expected to derive the greatest success. System and order require to be strictly observed to secure freedom from disturbing elements, and to give to business the great value of an easier and more thorough management of its details than would, under some other conditions, be possible. The farmer, of all men, should apply this rule, as being continually in need of it in the many and varied features involved in his occupation. He must observe, with an eye single to the main chance, all of its bearings, as well as all of its possibilities. He rises in the morning, and following the rules he has made, or should have made, to overcome the various difficulties of the day before him, knows better how to proceed, and thus accomplishes more work than he who simply permits himself to be carried along without system. It is beyond question that strict attention to, and vigorous courage and system in, business have been the ground work of the successes which have rewarded the toiler in every species of labor. Common sense of the practical sort, the surest index to good results, needs to be employed rather than

the many theories it would be a waste of time to attempt. Nor is a literary education desirable or needful outside of the learned professions. It has a tendency to draw away the attention from business, which, this being the case, must in the end suffer, if not utterly fail. The daily record of failures in our country affords the strongest indication of a sad lack of business application and attention among our people. This encroaching evil should be remedied, and there is but one remedy, which is shown in the examples of the successful. Men must take care of business, and run it for all it is worth; for business cannot take care of itself. When every one is taking part in the battle of the coins, it becomes a matter of difficulty to contend against the stronger and better fitted men of business. Hence the need of continual preparation for any business pursuit in whatever way it naturally demands. The good lawyer who would faithfully preserve the interest of his client, must discover the ways and means therefor, and apply them with persistent courage and manly vigor. The good merchant, going into the market to buy his goods, carries along with him a needful supply of caution, tact, and discretion, or he understands that he cannot expect to buy at such prices as will be in the nature of profit. He also knows that, without the careful, prudent, and constant attention to business and business methods necessary to meet competition, he cannot accomplish the desired ends of success. So must the farmer, if he would make the most of farming, bring into his work, not alone hard labor, but calculation, application, attention. The rule applies in every direction to every pursuit of man with gain in the following and at the end of it. When the true objects of any occupation are well understood, those who engage

therein must have them so constantly before their eyes as to render the omission of any necessary attention well nigh impossible. This is laborious attention, it is true, and may often prove irksome; but since there is no reward without toil, it cannot fail in the end to bring a sure relief and satisfaction. Neglect of aid that may be had in procuring the best results of labor, and inattention in applying it, are faults possessed by many. Every man is by nature possessed of abilities of some sort; and if he has found the right way to use them, he alone is to blame if he does not properly apply them with a view to their highest and best results. There is no use for a rule if there be no measures to take; there is no use for a reason if men do not heed it. Human experiences are full of wise counsel for those who desire to learn and do so; but for those who close their eyes and wait for results without effort, the records containing them would just as well never have been written. There is an absolutely fixed law of nature that denies to man anything that he does not receive from some kind of labor, except to such as live by favor and robbery, and not by work. There are many examples of those who are said to "live by their wits," but the problem as to how it is done may never be solved. Nor does it need to be solved, as no man should justly expect to enjoy anything which has not been procured by his own labor. Those who most appreciate the comforts of life are those who create them for themselves. In knowing how what we have is obtained, lies its chief value to us. Men naturally take pride in the possession of a treasure in proportion to the trouble involved in securing it. Whoever would thrive in his business must bend his whole will and purpose to it. Nothing which can be done to-day should be put off

till to-morrow. To-morrow may never come, and should it come, may not changed conditions and difficulties render set tasks impossible? Yet under some circumstances men trust to fortune, without serious errors, in postponing the execution of appointed tasks. The maxim that "procrastination is the thief of time" points a moral implied in itself, and is unquestionably true in a majority of instances. Men of business are often careful in some matters, to the neglect of others more important. Different men have different methods of business, which, considering differences of constitution and manner of application, is only natural; not dangerous, but rather beneficial. No two men go to work in the same way, notwithstanding they may both have learned of the same teacher, or been instructed upon the same principle. The greater trouble lies in improper application and inattention to details. Trifles make up the sum of life, as cents make dollars. An over-anxious man, he who makes great haste to be rich, seldom prospers long in any undertaking. Possibilities, not probabilities, should be the guide. A sanguine disposition may or may not be useful in business. Disappointment often follows sanguine hopes. A good business man calculates closely; does not allow anticipation to run away with his judgment, nor imagine that any good result can follow a false move.

For the many reasons cited, which, after all, are summed up in Attention, Business, and Courage, the farmer needs to think and to reason more; to attend more strictly to business rules and methods, and to exercise a greater courage and persistency in applying them. "Work while it is day," says the Scriptures, "for the night cometh when no man can work." Command the present moment that shakes gold from its wings. That the future may

bring bread for his family, the farmer sows seed in confidence, and awaits the harvest in hope. But if he fail to do what is necessary to a proper yield from his crop, he has made a failure of the talents committed to him. Men must acknowledge the responsibility that rests upon them, and meet it with that true courage which directs them aright. The lack of knowledge does not imply lack of ability to think and to reason. All men, unless of idiotic, impaired, or diseased minds, are possessed of the faculty of reason, and should use it for the purpose for which it was given—to supply needed helps to our temporal existence. From thought comes ability, and from ability system, courage, attention, application, the most valuable aids to every man of business.



Balance of Trade and Public Credit.

Balance of trade, while simply meaning the difference in the values of the commercial exports and imports of any country, has, like most other public and economic questions, been wordily discussed. The cause which produces a balance in favor of or against, and the effect of the one or the other condition on a country, have been analyzed more closely than their effect on classes or citizens of the country.

It is necessary to be borne in mind by those who demand that the values due their country must always exceed those against it, that often expenditures for products are like bread cast upon the waters. This country has an immense unearned, unrecorded revenue, brought here through immigration and foreign investments. The bulk of our income from abroad, however, is from productions of the farmers, including stock-raisers, and is offset largely by importations of fine wines and tobaccos, precious stones, mineral waters, and other *luxuries*. Of these there were, as shown on page xxxiii, report for 1888, U. S. Treasury, \$95,326,454, of which \$4,874,746 paid no duty or tax. This, of course, is exclusive of the immense amounts which are continually being smuggled on account of the relative smallness of the articles to their value, and of the increasing multitude of people

who are able to purchase them, and who take frequent trips to Europe.

Our manufacturers are now beginning to sell a large quantity of their products abroad, even in England, at a profit. In 1880 we exported of cotton goods 106,579,723 yards, which grew in seven years to 204,602,087, or nearly double. In iron and steel, and manufactures of, our exportation was \$14,716,524 in 1880. In 1887 it had grown to \$15,958,502, as reported by the U. S. Treasury in 1888. Exportations of boots and shoes increased in the above period about 66 per cent., leather about 59 per cent., while agricultural implements remained at about two and a quarter million dollars per year.

The longest periods that our exports have exceeded imports; or the balance of trade been in favor of this country, were from 1855 to 1860, and from 1873 to 1887. During this last period it averaged \$128,000,000 annually by our increased exports.

Public credit in this country is better than private or personal credit, as taxes are levied freely and collected firmly; are a first lien, and even in death they are not escaped. From the Bible used at the obsequies to the shroud and coffin, which are entombed with the body, the tax is unavoidable.

The Government must be supported primarily, else our lives and property are in jeopardy. But, animal-like, we use, enjoy, then often abuse these rights and privileges; and it behooves the grantors not to be martyrs, and to demand as the land does virtually to the sea waves, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." The medium between the extremes is the "Christ between thieves," and it is certainly unfortunate that there is but one to the two.

Prompt payment of debts at maturity is right and necessary, but the party who pays in advance is as indiscreet as the one who never pays is dishonest. Our Government has paid millions before due and immense premiums to get the creditor to receive the bonds; hence has made millions of dollars for its bond-holders by overtaxing its citizens. The truest indication of the public credit of this country is the premiums on its indebtedness to its bond-holders. These premiums have ranged from nine to twenty-nine per cent. for years owing to time of maturity of the bonds.



CAPITAL AND LABOR.

One of the chief concerns of the hour is the consideration of labor and capital, and the relations they sustain to each other.

Labor, as the producer of capital, continues to exert an influence as sensibly felt as is the necessity for its relief from oppressive systems of taxation. From the earliest ages of the world, the laboring classes have borne the heat and burden of the day, and have rarely received the rewards that should spring therefrom, or the attention which, by natural right, they demand. The vexed question can only be solved when labor is conducted in proper channels in a proper way. Man must perform the office of labor in order, first, to acquire sustenance; and second, to derive capital from it. The acquisition of capital, and the ways and means of employing it, have always been leading ambitions of civilized peoples. Among the ruder and semi-civilized nations, who found in barter a suitable exchange of products, the relations were different, there being under such a system none of the features of labor and capital as the people of this country now understand them. The character of labor depends upon the nature and demands of occupation. The farmer, for instance—the tiller of the soil, the provider of food for people in every branch of

trade or business—is independent in a sense merely social, but subject to a taxation that threatens to be ruinous. His actual capital consists of his land, stock, machinery, and tools; the seed he plants; his brains in devising methods and measures for the proper and economic management of his farm; the products of his crops and cattle, and what they will bring in the market. Of course, his greatest capital is in his land, and the machinery and tools for its successful cultivation.

The capitalist, the manufacturer, merchant, and men of other trades or professions, however, while dependent upon the farmer for bread and other actual necessities of life, have politically placed him where he is obliged, to a great extent, to depend upon them in a much less satisfactory manner. He occupies no enviable position; for, in addition to the cares and labors of his farm, he must study the greatest economy. On the other hand, the possessor of moneyed capital, which he lays out in interest-bearing securities and other paying investments, has but little to do, except to watch them grow, collect his interest, and rejoice in hoarding up filthy lucre. The manufacturer embarks his capital in his business, in the grounds, the buildings thereon, in machinery, tools, and labor. From him the laborer receives wages for his service, all or a greater portion of which he must give to the merchant, to the physician if sickness come upon himself or family, to the lawyer if he get into trouble, and to meet funeral expenses when the last dread messenger, Death, enters his humble home. He has little or nothing to do with banks or bankers. Sometimes he invests a dollar or two per week in a building association, or has his life insured if he can pay the premium. The laborer in American manufactories seldom saves money enough to have a

house of his own, unless he gets large wages for peculiar skill in workmanship, and practices proper economy. His family, usually large, must endure labor even before they are physically capable, or before they have had sufficient instruction to perform it intelligently.

The average manufacturer has a large income, comparative ease, luxurious home-comforts, and a well-dressed, well-fed, and well-educated family. He patronizes the banks; invests in stocks and bonds; reads the newspapers and books on subjects of interest and amusement; but, in the hours of business, devotes strict attention to the details of his affairs. He looks upon his employes as the means of his success, and values them in theory, but does not feel able to pay them better wages. He knows that he cannot dispense with them, except to his own destruction, but fails to consider that when deprived of work or put upon low wages, as many of them are for five months in the year by the shutting down of factories, they must suffer. The system is wrong somewhere. The nature of labor is such that its value cannot be definitely fixed; it must always be governed by the law of supply and demand, and be largely dependent on skill to command better wages. Legislation itself has only interfered by putting upon labor an indirect tax which it is ill-conditioned to bear, and which works covert and serious injury. Labor has been appropriately called the most valuable of all products. It is a commodity which bears a purely cash complexion, and, as such, must continue to demand from those who would buy it the most attentive consideration.

While it may be true that American laborers are better fed and better clothed than are those of any other country, yet they are not indebted for these privileges to the


injudicious and unjustifiable tax upon food and raiment. If the German laborer, for instance, fails to be as well fed and as well clothed as the American laborer, it is not for the reason that the articles of food and clothing are higher in Germany. The reverse is true, and affords another and weighty reason against indirect and injudicious taxation. The conditions of American capital are not in an unfavorable aspect as regards taxation, losses, or shrinkage of either principal or interest. It wields an influence felt by all, and plays an important part in the history and prosperity of the country. It is a deplorable fact, however, that large amounts of capital have fallen into the hands of unscrupulous men, who are using it in corners on wheat, corn, pork, and other necessities of the human family, whereby, in prices, they are put beyond the ability of the poorer classes measurably to enjoy. Such an improper, not to say illegitimate, use of money as robs the poor to fill the pockets of greedy speculators should be severely denounced and stamped out by all honest people. The proper systems of the employment of capital must be recommended, as in a great degree increasing the wealth and strength of the nation, and as creating an easier feeling in the money markets of the country. Laborers, to be well paid, must be directed by the rule of being well fitted to perform their work. American laborers, to be in any sense accumulative, must practice the strictest economy; must eat less expensive food; wear less expensive clothing, if possible, and thus lay by, out of their wages, the foundation of a fund against sickness, old age, and death in the family. These things seem to be better understood among foreign laborers than among those of this country. An inherited economy, it is true, possesses those people, but it would be well if American laborers

followed so useful an example. The French laborer, for instance, will live for a whole day on a sum that would furnish an American laborer only a single meal. The German laborer also understands and appreciates the denials of himself and family of such things as detract from the exact principles of saving. Until he can afford comfort and luxury, he endures being deprived of them. Man is really, under many circumstances, his own worst enemy, but disposed to charge it to another account rather than acknowledge it. American labor and capital are capable of the improvement which springs from their more prudent and safer direction. Much capital is swallowed up in hasty and inconsiderate ventures, and labor is too often misapplied in unprofitable ways. Labor and capital, as the two greater elements of American progress, should be more intelligently and more correctly managed than they now are. This motive should be the constant aim and interest of all. As a vital principle, it sustains the stability of the government, and secures the prosperity and true welfare of the nation.

CHARTERED RIGHTS.

Corporate license is largely extended in the United States, and corporations of various kinds are of daily organization. The bringing together of large amounts of capital in this way serves the useful purposes of affording employment to needy laborers and adding to the material wealth and importance of the country. While the privileges and conditions of certain corporations are much abused, in the main they are intelligently and beneficially directed. The rights of their charters are clearly defined, and furnish the fullest security for their successful operation. The design of combining capital for the more thorough and rapid systems of manufactures is a useful one, and is now being executed in a great degree. While the manufacturer and the representatives of corporations of other kinds and descriptions may sometimes exceed the limitations of their chartered rights by the broad scope and direction they take by added privileges, the newness of some institutions must plead excuse, where in other conditions excuse cannot be found. This order of enterprise is liable to defects, as are all systems under the control of such managers as sometimes defy laws directed to their restraint. Since the people began to demand license from their governments, there have existed the dispositions to in-

fringe upon chartered rights. The Magna Charta of King John of England in 1215, demanded by his subjects, contained many restrictions and conditions which were freely violated by succeeding kings and their subjects alike. So the American colonies, many of whom brought with them charters from the king of England, found it sometimes convenient, if not necessary, to annul their provisions. In the United States, charters are regarded as contracts, and State legislatures are prohibited by the General Government from making laws to impair the obligations under them. On this account has arisen much controversy, especially as to railroad charters which are bestowed by State legislatures, who grant them as private contracts, with reserved rights to the incorporators, and, as they claim, thus place them beyond the power of legislative interference. In some of the States of the Union, however, the case is altered, as special charters are forbidden by their constitutions. However this may be (and it seems but justice to allow these rights, if at all, with necessary reservations), the American people cannot do without those corporations which add to the wealth of the country, and employ much labor. The abuse of chartered rights must be considered as an abuse of confided privileges, which, in unscrupulous and selfish management, may work serious injury to the very interests proposed to be benefited. Correction of these abuses, and a strict, competent guarding of future charters, becomes the duty of our legislators, and should be the object of their tireless efforts; but unworthy men cannot make good, honest laws.



Conditions—Social and Political.

The social and political conditions of the people of the United States to-day cannot be measured by any rules more fixed than those of self-interest and policy. Social customs are regulated in a large degree by sect, wealth, and employment; and politics by the more arbitrary and less satisfactory conditions of selfish, sectional, and ultra partisan divisions. Man's social atmosphere in this country has been too much composed of party strife to render it healthy for those who deserve to breathe a purer air. But these are but the natural consequences of a civil war; and while the political sky may be for some years to come darkened by the clouds of sectional antagonism, the purifying sun of regeneration will dispel them. Already are the indications present that justify unmistakably such a conclusion. There are many social as well as political abuses which demand speedy correction.

Social customs decree that men and women must be guided rather by selfish purposes than by proper principles. The laws of hospitality, once the pride and boast of the people of certain sections, have been rudely thrust aside in the race the American people are making for money. The god of Mammon rules them with a


golden sceptre, before which they bow in humble worship. The politician, too, must bow the knee, and curry favor with this powerful ruler. Devotion to party has, in some instances, robbed of devotion to principle, and blinded its advocates to all interests save those of a political tendency. The average citizen finds no relief from a political persecution in the frequency of elections and the discussions thereby engendered. His home-life even is invaded by the political demon to rob him of the little rest and comfort he might enjoy; and sometimes it happens that his wife or children follow the promptings and teachings of a party different from his own. Frequent and ill-advised differences of opinion, growing out of dissimilar habit and thought, breed in the social life many of the disturbances which now unfortunately distinguish it in this country. Great as is the spread of education among the people, it has often the tendency to corrupt rather than to purify the social and political atmosphere. Knowledge is imperative for good government, but when it encourages party hate to the end of destroying the better social system, it becomes dangerous and revolutionary. The dissatisfied aspect of labor has sprung a dangerous trap into which has fallen many men otherwise disposed to be content with the social system of a republic. The advocates and promoters of disquietude are the worst foes of a republican government, and should be looked upon as evils to be shunned by every honest man and woman in the land. Anarchism and revolt against the just principles which were the foundation stones of the American republic should be stamped out at any cost. To assist in correcting all of these abuses of social and political systems becomes the highest duty of every American citizen.

Where corruption creeps, is unhealthy ground, and men must be advised of the approach of a more dangerous enemy even than this. The institution of newspapers and periodicals which stir up strife and engender sedition, as the strong inciters to anarchy and revolution, is a greater evil, and one which, considering the liberty of thought and speech in this country, will be hard to rectify. When books and newspapers are published for the diffusion of knowledge, and to secure better and purer social and political conditions, they are valuable to the people; but when published for reasons that would tend to disrupt them, they are the vilest foes that men can assail. No man who values the peace and harmony of American liberty and independence, and their perpetuity, can afford to lend his eyes and ears for a moment to such insidious enemies. To purify social customs and relieve them from oppressive and dangerous systems must have for its result the safer and better political conditions, which are now so loudly called for. The philosophy which teaches prudence and economy, also teaches release from arbitrary leadings. The man who saves for an intelligent reason is always the man who can decide the graver questions of the hour. The good citizen is not a politician in the sense of finding a living by politics, but studies political economy for the reason that he must practice it for social protection. How few men understand the necessities of political economy as bound up in the book of social economy! Men have been led by prejudice, party, and party teachings long enough. When they begin to think, and temper thought for themselves, they may discover many things of which they had previously been ignorant or badly informed. The American people must encourage habits of thought

and reflection more ; practice larger social and political economy, and pay more attention to work and business than they now do. These are sure ways to derive the greatest satisfaction and success in any occupation or employment. Passion and prejudice, the forerunners of social and political disturbances, must be avoided. The grave questions of the hour demand sober judgment and unbiased decision. It is impossible for a judge to determine judgment, fair and equitable, if he be ruled by other than the true policy of reason and justice. The judiciary department of this Government was founded in wisdom, and to check the abuses of republican privileges.

A man's home-life must guide him to a great extent in politics. Politics belongs to man's higher and better estate in social life, and for that reason it must be cultivated to a better and higher standard. Being socially popular generally begets political preferment. The statesmen of all nations and countries understood this as a means to the end of their political elevation and usefulness.

The founders of this great republic seem to have considered everything that would bear beneficially upon the peace, prosperity, and perpetuity of the nation. It will be the fault of the people of our country if they do not maintain these principles at any sacrifice or cost. The American republic is young as yet; and although it has advanced beyond any precedent in the history of the world, it has doubtless not yet overcome all the foes of its continuance. Already are there signs in the social and political conditions of the people which need to be heeded, as tokens of coming disasters. When danger is imminent, it becomes all good citizens to take the surest



precautions against its nearer approach. To be warned is to be forearmed.

Favorable as now are the indications in some conditions, there is some cause for alarm in social and political conditions. But there are those who carry with them power and influence in national council, and who seek by precept and example to drive away the dangers that threaten. Let them be supported.



Constitutional Provisions.

The Constitution of the United States, framed in the wisdom of its builders, contains the provisions of good government and that protection and security which were the ground-work of the Republic. The objects of the Constitution, as adopted and put in force March 4, 1789, were thus defined: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America."

In this way the delegates representing the original thirteen States devised our present system of government, which permits the greatest liberty of speech and action consistent with the observance of the laws. It defines with simplicity the underlying principles of the Federal Republic. It makes provisions for executive, legislative, and judicial control, and defines the powers of Congress and the rights of the States, as elements of the Union. It grants to each State a republican form of government, and permits the full and free exercise of its powers as long as they are not used in conflict with those of the General Government. The wisdom which dictated these

and other provisions of the Constitution was based upon the principle of the most wide-spread humanity, and the implied disposition to establish a form of government so popular that under it there would be no chance for dissatisfaction by the people. The only important instance in which the Constitution has been openly attacked was by the seceding States, which considered that their rights as States permitted them to retire from the Union at pleasure. The diversity of opinion on this subject has, however, had no other tendency than to strengthen the Constitution, and to make its construction more thoroughly understood by the masses of the people.

It is matter of much surprise that so few people have either read or inquired into this protector of our liberties, laws, and institutions. Surely every one must be interested in a definition of the principles upon which our Government is founded, and the precautions taken therein to secure the greatest good to the greatest number. To promote the public welfare is among the highest aims of the representatives of the people, to whom are intrusted the making of laws for their better government.

The Constitution of the United States provides as well for private as public safety, and extends to every individual the just and true rights and privileges of a republican form of government. It robs no man of the right to hold office on account of his religion, nor deprives any of the right of suffrage on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." In the fifteenth amendment are included naturalized citizens of foreign birth and emancipated slaves.

The right of Congress to make amendments to the Constitution has been supposed, but there is absolutely no ground for it. The Constitution says in plain terms:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall *propose* amendments to this Constitution ; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: *Provided*, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." The first and fourth clauses of section nine of the first article relate to migration and importation, and the capitation tax, and it is declared therein that " The migration and importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person ;" and, "No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken." Exclusive legislation by the Government is provided for "in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for

the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings." This provision also includes the laws necessary for carrying into effect this and other "powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

This famous declaration of the principles of a popular government by the people, for the people, as has been shown in the examples cited and in the language of the Constitution itself, was made for the more thorough and perfect support of liberty and justice. In it are laid down, in the simplest manner, both the inherent rights of the people and the best systems for their control in all cases wherein it may be necessary to the public safety. The people of this republic should cherish the Constitution as among the sacred legacies of our forefathers, and as the truest safeguard of their rights and liberties.



CREAM OF THOUGHT.

Henry Parnell, a great writer on economic questions, says that if any one thinks he can benefit taxpayers, he should not be discouraged from trying it.

"Our natural productions of iron, coal, and other articles of raw material, will preserve our superiority in manufactures over other nations; while a more enlarged system of reduction of the tariff will produce an extension of our markets."

"Reduction of duties on needed commodities has always increased their consumption," thus putting them in reach of the laborers, yet bringing full revenue to the Government.

"Diminishing imports has always had the effect of diminishing exports."

"France, through M. Colbert's protection theories, has had to pay nearly twice as much for manufactured articles as Holland or England, and her manufactories have been in a most wretched condition."

"Protection limits production to home demands, and employs less labor and capital than is required when foreign markets are supplied. Thus, too, it destroys our commerce."

Protection has been termed "a deplorable error, a contradiction, and an absurdity. It divides the commu-

nities of a country into two classes—consumers and monopolists—each interested in the other's loss."

"Governments are extravagant when they can borrow easily or tax freely. The usefulness of an expenditure does not always justify it, and the sufferings and hardships of those who, in the end, pay the taxes should ever be kept in mind."

"There are few in the lead of public affairs even who possess much knowledge of trade, finance, or economy and if the public knew the wastes and personal benefits of many officials, they would retire them."

"Nothing can be more clear than that the increase of the employment of capital and labor in a country can only be the result of an increase of the general capital and markets of that country, and in no way the result of bounties. The bounty process merely takes out of the pockets of one class and puts in those of another."

"No government can itself manufacture any article at so low a price as it can be got for by a fair contract."

"Legislative committees seldom do more than specially required in investigations, and are often personally interested."

"It is perfectly well known that in the offices in the Government service where the salaries are lowest the work is best done. The clerks are real clerks, and not the sons of somebody."

"The barrenness of military trophies and the substantial advantages of peace have been fully exhibited in the last forty years."

"It is clear that the preparations for defense should always be kept at the lowest possible rather than at the highest possible point."

"Monopolies and colonies afford no advantages. The

expenses of colonies for their defense are a great drain."

"The law which deprived several million Catholics in Ireland of their civil rights established hostility, discontent, outrages, and insurrections."

"A small income tax established in times of peace is one of the greatest preparations for war."

"Dealing with loan contractors (now syndicates) for raising loans, adopted by Mr. Pitt in 1793, may be set down to the fraudulence of the ingenious reasoning of great moneyed men." "In the seven years war there was but about five million dollars discount on loans; but in the American war, through contractors, the discount was nearly one hundred and ninety million dollars." Taking even four per cent. as a standard of U. S. bond interest, the Government paid approximately \$600,000,000 above the four per cent. as a premium to her bond-holders from 1860 to 1886.

"There is nothing done wrong but may be set right by the repeal of erroneous laws, and this is easily done, beyond having to contend with those persons who are interested in the monopoly and regulating system."

"Every country should be as a general and common market for the sale of goods, and the individual or nation that makes the best should find the greatest advantage." This is the case in families, communities, counties, states, and nations; hence, why not *between* nations? For, in this, each has the advantage of distance and expense of carriage, besides the profits of the importer and exporter, time, trans-shipment, etc.

"Happily the time, if not arrived, is rapidly approaching when reducing trade by legislative interference and bounties will be in the rank of gone-by illusions. Trade

asks and needs nothing from Government, but equal protection, discouragement of monopoly, and a fixed standard of money."

"The heavy tariff of Germany, which, combined with prodigal bounties, has produced an illusory and ephemeral activity and prosperity, might have been expected to prevent the nation from being to any extent a competitor in foreign trade; but it can and does export largely, independently of bounties, and its ability to do so is largely due to the fact that labor has not participated in the advantages of the tariff. In other words, while the prices of commodities have been augmented by the tariff, the wages of labor have not increased."

"English manufacturers are now producing in the United States behind the shelter of the tariff." The English are becoming the largest holders of trust certificates issued by United States manufacturers, through and by reason of this tariff. There were registered in the United Kingdom, in 1885, 1,482 manufacturing companies with a nominal capital of \$580,198,539.

"It is suggestive of thought that in the late Johnstown flood the Pennsylvania Railroad lost several million dollars' worth of property uninsured, but the replacing of it neither impaired its capital nor regular dividends. The Columbian mills lately paid its stockholders \$1,000 per share—the par value—also fifteen per cent. as dividends in one year," one share paying more than does an average farm or occupation.

Superficial, impracticable, and ungrateful persons urge our country to close the bars to all immigration here. While this would be the only means to make protection of any benefit to laborers, and it but temporary, the idea is narrow, un-American, uncivilized, and impos-

sible. We may shut out paupers, heathen, and criminals; but these are not the competing classes to our wage-workers. What! close our doors to our own respectable kin and those who, like we or our fathers were, are oppressed, but are ambitious to build up our country by elevating themselves! The suggestion is contemptible, and a deluding, unmeant scheme of protectionists.

In the matter of fair comparisons of countries to prove benefits or injuries of protection, the clearest and truest is between New South Wales and Victoria. Side by side, with similar government and resources, and a population of over a million each, one has high protection, the other near to free trade, and is getting nearer each year. Those who are interested in such comparisons can find much advantage in reading the late reports from both countries.

The standard authority on Great Britain says that "The traditions of legislation are so firmly fixed, and the benefits of free trade experienced during the past thirty years are so generally admitted, that the advocacy of the exploded theory of protection is looked on as a harmless whim, which has no chance of popularity. It is not, however, equally clear that we are so safe against protection to agriculture, under the pretense of sanitary restraint; for while protection to manufactures limits voluntary consumption, it does not seem to do so in necessary consumption"—meaning farm products. And further, "Since the repeal of the corn laws"—meaning protection—"the price of agricultural land has steadily risen, and, though the price of wheat has fallen, that of other kinds of grain has increased, while meat and dairy products have much more than doubled in value." It must be borne in mind that general free trade had

been declared, especially in manufactured articles. In all these beneficial changes everywhere, the same dire predictions have been made by statesmen as are now current in this country, but the injury has ever been minimum in comparison to the good to the producing masses. "Sophistry and self-interest are both active in assigning the facts to other causes than those really dominant."

"When land is in the hands of bankrupt proprietors to such an extent as to hinder its adequate improvement, it has not been thought to be a violation of the rights of property of the bankrupt owner to put a more competent one in his place." How long before the American farmer will come to this condition? Also, "The protective system of continental Europe is the source and the strength of its socialism and its fallacies and excesses." "The loudest complaints of declining trade and the hurtful influence of rivalry are heard from the industries which have successfully demanded the assistance of protective duties." "A thousand economical fallacies dominant in the minds of those in the darkness of protection have been dissipated in the light of free, unrestricted trade." "Artificial attempts to direct the home and foreign trade of a country into special channels are sure to bring about exaltation of one set of values, and an equal depreciation in another set." "It gives the maximum advantage to the foreigner who exports, and the maximum loss to the domestic consumer." "Manufactures, indeed, unless they are wholly ruined by taxation, or at least confined to domestic supply, can be and are made to accommodate themselves to circumstances."

In 1880 the eleven great manufacturing States consumed only 34,500,000 bushels over their own productions

of the 498,000,000 bushels of wheat raised in this country. Still, already complaint is made of overproduction of manufactured articles, and a proof of the complaint is the shut-downs, consolidations, and trusts of manufacturers. We must have foreign markets for all our surplus products, and the countries want them, but will not pay or allow us the 47 per cent. premium we charge them in exchanges.

The population of the United States is increasing by from one to two millions each year, and near that number are becoming producers.



Demands Implied in the Control of the Country

The future control of the country is a matter for deep and serious consideration. So wide a domain as that embraced in the United States, with such marked differences of soil, climate, manners, institutions, and social and political conditions, affords much food for reflection and sober thought. Increasing population, and the many relations incident thereto, begin to excite graver apprehensions than formerly. The labor question, the consideration of taxation and revenue, and the great aggregating of capital more particularly awaken inquiry and arouse suspicions of danger. Political fever is running high, and the minds of men are too easily influenced by prejudice and party. Hence the future control of the American Republic becomes more and more the chief concern of its people. A country of such rapid wealth accumulations presupposes for its future government more judicious systems and a continued wiser and better legislation than have heretofore prevailed. The perils of unrestricted immigration are of dangerous tendency, not to mention many other dangerous leadings possible of correction. It is to be hoped that the wisdom which the framers of the Constitution of the United States employed will soon again be found and applied. This vast country, with possibilities as yet undeveloped and unapplied, with ports open to the labor of Europe, and destined in a few

years to become much more thickly populated, demands careful thought and a ripe judgment in its civil and political jurisdiction and control. The close of the nineteenth century is certainly a critical period in this country's history. The progress already made, equalling that made by any other people in five hundred years of their history, promises yet to be much greater. The Americans have derived and applied every agent that could aid them to the singular advancement they have now secured. Living in an age of railroads, telegraphs, and steam-power machinery, the present generation has experienced a condition of this country such as our forefathers were incapable of predicting. The area of the United States, not including Alaska, by the census of 1880, was put down at 2,970,000 square miles. What are the possibilities of population in a country of such magnitude as this, when it is known that China, with an area of 1,348,870 square miles (or much less than half that of the United States, exclusive of Alaska), can find homes and employment for 360,000,000 people! This single illustration will serve to show how densely, considering present favoring conditions, this country may be populated even twenty-five or thirty years from now. There is abundant room for, not only the natural increase of our own population, but for all that may come in from abroad for a hundred years. The question of the control of the future of the American Republic naturally involves all of the considerations before mentioned and more. It is a doctrine that only good government can long be sustained, and that civilization tends to greater advancement under a popular form of government. The future life of the Government of the United States would seem largely to depend upon these propositions.

Excise Laws and Customs Duties

The many and varied demands of "THOUGHT AND THRIFT," which represent to the farmer and wage-worker the necessity for the employment of every available expedient and facility for the more thorough understanding of the subjects treated in entering more completely into and extending them, partake of the following additional considerations. We are in accord on all fundamental questions affecting our political standards, which have been and will be comparatively exhibited under other heads. Taxation, as among the graver considerations of the people of the United States, involves the *relative merits* of the excise and customs systems. A candid discussion of these problems upon their merits, without reference to supposed party advantages, and without the bias of class or interest, is unfortunately too rare. Government cannot be left alone to resolve these questions and the most troublesome problem of the future economist is to place the proper limits to public economy.

Because a certain industry has needed the foster care of the Government at the expense of others, for a decade or period of years, it does not follow that it should not thenceforth operate unaided. If this be not the case, the protection by the Government has been, and will continue to be, an utter loss and injury.

The machinery of internal revenue must be maintained to meet needed exigencies, such as the maturity of bonds, etc.

The *design* of protection was and is to shut off foreign competition, or to weaken its force, but not to prevent competition among domestic producers. Within a few years, however, home manufacturers have turned upon those who overfed and protected them; and, availing themselves of the great bars of foreign competition, have formed trusts and combinations, by which they likewise exclude home competition. Producers are placed at the mercy of "rings," and all who have dared to oppose these rings have been silently crushed. The alleged tyranny of trades unions is insignificant when compared to the unrighteous, thankless tyranny of these trusts; and the men who do the work, instead of receiving any share of the increased profits, are thrown out entirely by the shutting down of these factories and shops to curtail competition. They have never thought to make provision, even for the families of the working men they discharge. The pretense that protection benefits the working man becomes, then, more a miserably hollow mockery than ever, and its promulgators become the most damaging socialists, intrenched behind class, unnatural and restricting laws. The farmer sends his products, through several home agents, to Liverpool, and receives free-trade prices, and thus establishes home market prices; but what he wants he cannot buy there. Ships return with rock for ballast, and he has to pay in New York protection prices of about one-half more to those who love him just enough to combine against him so ungratefully. Farmers, these are solemn facts, and for your own sakes you should consider and remedy

them. Those who are manufacturing goods which, under a low tariff, we might import, would find occupation, cheap transportation, and good markets in producing goods for exportation. Let a tariff bill be framed by a commission of honest, disinterested, competent men, from all of our industries, in proportion to their number, with a scale for the future, and thus forever settle this question fairly. Not a commission like that of 1882, called in the name of tariff reform, and whose decision was known as soon as the names of its members were made public.

As to the use of the Treasury surplus, the improvement of rivers and harbors is doubtless the best disposition of it, and this should be fully and effectively carried out. The past history of these expenditures has been one of extravagance for lack of sufficiency, and has been bred and nurtured by those financially opposed to such improvements. It has been largely a policy of one step forward and two backward. Cofferdams and caissons are only in the way, and a cost for removal if not utilized at once; and half a dam is the reverse of half a loaf.

As to duties, when the largest revenue is needed, they yield the least; when the least is needed, they yield the most. Concerning internal revenue, it may well be said that whisky and tobacco are, and have always been, recognized the world over as luxuries of an injurious tendency, and can be used moderately and cheaply or excessively and expensively, or not at all, in accord with the ability to pay for them. As seeming, also, to possess the elements of uniformity and permanency, as articles of consumption, they hence produce a similar revenue. The revenue arising from them is voluntarily paid, and hence is easily collected. Levying a tax on them has

certainly no tendency to increase their consumption, and hence cannot be injurious. While, like the protection tax, that on whisky and tobacco is probably paid in the degree of nine-tenths by persons of moderate means, yet, unlike the former, it is easily evaded by non-usage or home-production, and is not often paid on purchases for whole families like the former, but generally for but one or two, and often for but one of the two articles. The United States Treasury Department has declared that the whisky and tobacco tax can be as well collected in connection with the customs tax; so why not thus save to the laboring people of the country the millions of dollars paid for collection? It is acknowledged to be an easily and honestly collected revenue, and one that is not evaded by rich smugglers, as is the protection tax. The two articles are twin relics of equal use and abuse, and are claimed to offset each other in the effects of their use on the brain; so let neither guilty party escape.

Were every trade and person protected, of course, every trade and person would have to bear the burden of protection. This would be similar to that of two men trading their homes backward and forward through a real estate agent until the commissions of the latter consumed both of them. A few trades, like a little protection, *may* be beneficial; but an excess of them must be equally ruinous—as the fox demonstrated when protecting the cheese interest. Professor Thompson, of Pennsylvania, in his defense of protection, says of the direct taxes of that State, that “the rates have been very low in most of them,” and calls it “bad work.” He immediately excepts Massachusetts, where “the rates have been high,” and says that “industries have been driven from the State by it.” He then adds that “the tariff of

1835 reduced the revenues of the Government below expenses," and, to cap the climax, says that the *present tariff* is making our *national* wealth grow more rapidly than ever before; and that it "has caused the great immigration, especially from Ireland and Norway;" is the thing that makes us all rich and the "country desirable." In a newspaper editorial, probably written or inspired by another high-salaried Pennsylvania professor, it is stated that "*Twenty-four* dollars will pay the passage of a foreign laborer or mechanic from any part of Western Europe to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New Orleans;" sometimes less, and always untaxed. "These people work for about one-half what *our own* countrymen do; and if we had no tariff laws, wages would be no higher, or a very little, here than where our foreign competitors live." These are but samples of the thin sophistry, contradictions, and "bosh" which the suffering and declining victims, who labor on and need rest, are supposed to continue to believe. This tariff tax is out of date; behind the times; has *more* than accomplished its object; is making the rich richer and the poor poorer now—making the latter virtually and directly pay all the national debt and expenses, and building up rapidly a millionaire aristocracy over them, while deceiving and brow-beating them besides. If protection be not to allow strength and growth and ability to stand alone, then what purpose has it? If it does not do this, it weakens, at an immense cost to others, the industries it pretends to foster. When the younger brother of a family is raised, he is left to do for himself; when the young bird can but imperfectly fly, even its mother drives it from the nest to care for itself. Then, since our manufacturers are shipping goods right into the English and other foreign markets; since

they own immense factories, unmortgaged and well insured—own bonds, mortgages, bank stocks, railroads, and telegraphs; as well as millions of mortgages on Western farms—is it not time, not only to reduce the vast subsidy and feed, but to begin to protect the working producers, who are the bulk of the people? Instead of listening to prejudices, it behooves the laborer to look at the facts and figures which vitally concern him. Local taxes, poll taxes, all other taxes put together, do not near equal the protection tax the laboring man has to pay these shrewd barons who pretendedly claim weakness; talk so feebly; but who subsidize newspapers; wake up John Bull-dogs and Southern blood-hounds, and pay for their stirring music to reach his ears and warm his ire, as the little pension catches the old but brave soldier and those he may chance to owe through the protection taxes he pays, though they doubtless exceed the amount of the pension. The only national plea for protection is the expectation that it will make free trade possible, and that a graduated income tax will follow its gradual withdrawal. Even Henry C. Carey says that protection is only to attain to free trade with all the world, and all of the original protectionists in every country have favored rapid and ultimate free trade, and free traders have generally admitted a national but a class benefit in protection, for a limited time, in new countries. Leading minds on both sides are not so far apart as are those who are not conversant with the subject, and those who are financially interested as against the sufferers who receive no benefit. Those who fully understand the question cannot and do not see any protection to industry, to manufacturing, mining, or to the forests, in the high protection tax on lumber. It can certainly protect no one but the large

owners of our forest lands. It makes lumber dear to house-builders, mechanics, etc., and there is no possible compensation. Spinners of silk get no more per day than spinners of cotton, though the protection tax on silk thread is large, and on cotton virtually nothing. Raising wages ten per cent., and the price of the necessities of the worker fifteen per cent., would be but to lower his wages; and this protection does, as comparisons of similar periods and similarly situated and conditioned countries prove. As the profits of agriculture decrease, the profits of manufacturers increase. Conditions of trade and industry change from year to year, and protection should change with them. In cases of careful investigation of workmen's family expenses, the tariff tax on one article of consumption alone amounted to the average of all local, state, and county taxes combined, and this could be obviated on all the articles of consumption by giving a *bounty* to manufacturers and producers so long as artificial stimulation must be used, thus making the great wealth of the country pay at least a fair share of national burdens. In subsidizing steamship lines, direct evidence of the effect of subsidies has been afforded. In manufactures, we have no sure proof of their effect, as in giving medicine it is not *known* but that the patient might have recovered as quickly or more so without it, or possibly even lived instead of died. From 1850 to 1858 the Collins Steamship line was protected by a cash subsidy of \$858,000 for bi-weekly trips to Liverpool, and, though honestly managed, proved a disastrous failure. From 1865 to 1875 a subsidy was granted the Pacific Mail line to China. It was, prior to this, declared to be a sound company, with its shares above par. In nine years from the beginning of this subsidy its shares fell to forty


cents and below, and the Government came to its further relief by the addition of another half million, voted in 1872; but this high feed caused a wholesale corruption in the company, and, with public opinion against it, the contracts expired, with no renewals. France has recently met with a similar experience. Subsidies have caused waste, loss, and weakness. Trade between our forty-two States has been as free as air, active, and healthy. The theory of protection would demand a high—a very high—tariff of duties for the young West and new South, as against the old rich East and its “pauper labor;” for if there are two similar things, they are the new and old parts of America, and the new and old countries of America and Europe.



Education and Elevation

The spread of education among mankind, particularly notable in the nineteenth century, has been rapid, and the ways for its more thorough advancement have been carefully chosen. Education bespeaks the need of civilized aids to occupation and comfort, and a continual striving for additional stepping-stones to elevation. The introduction of the present systems of public instruction in the United States has been attended with the best results, not alone as paving the way for those who seek a higher education, but as affording valuable preparation for business and the mechanical arts to those who must labor in them. At the beginning of this century, the system of public instruction in New England, where common schools were first established in this country, provided merely the rudiments of education. It did not, as now, include the elements of, and preparation for, a higher education. From New England this common school system came into action successively in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and in other Northern and the Northwestern States, and brought about a more satisfactory diffusion of knowledge. To some of the Western States grants of land for school purposes have been made by the United States, and these now amount to near 68,000,000 acres, worth more than

\$60,000,000. Not alone have the public schools done good work in educating those unable or unwilling to pay for instruction, but they have incited a greater zeal in the founding of special schools in mechanics and the fine arts, and led to the increased number of private schools, colleges, and universities, as well as to schools for the afflicted. The American people are, hence, becoming educated and better enabled to profit by the varied advantages of so vast a country. Education must always have for its aim the greater ability to secure success in any chosen way. Intelligent and skillful labor always commands a better price in the market than that which is simply mechanical or incapable of improvement. So also does any service involving responsibilities. Merit attaches itself to whom it belongs, and true worth cannot long be hidden. The elevation which depends upon education consists not in making a man consider himself superior to his neighbor, but in fitting him to occupy higher positions. Many men have gone from the plow to the councils of the nation, not because they did not leave behind them men better or equally good, but that those men preferred them on the supposed account of their being better prepared to discharge the obligations resting upon them. When education leads a man to think that because he has advanced in knowledge beyond his associates he is better than they, it is shorn of its glory, and becomes rather a curse than a blessing. Education should result in broadening the mind so as to awaken therein a ready sympathy and a noble charity for all who are not possessed of understanding and wisdom. The chief end and design of education is to purify the mind, strengthen and dignify the character, and improve those natures



inclined to unusual greed, selfishness, and lack of moral purposes. No longer is education in the common schools mixed with the church, nor are the pupils under the influence of sect or creed. Every child that finds instruction thus unbiased must grow up with larger views and more charity for religious belief, if it chance to be different from his own. But education alone will not bring elevation, if the habits of thought, which ought to be acquired at school, are not continually practiced and applied. It is a good thing for everybody to have knowledge of some useful kind, but there are many men and women in the land, well educated in the sense of school training, who never have a thought for themselves of how to accomplish anything. What is the secret of the elevation of the wise statesmen who founded this great Republic? They were no better nor wiser by nature than hundreds of others; but, while educated in a much less degree as to school instruction than are the people of to-day, they thought, reflected, and acted upon the objects of their ambition, and reached the highest stations in the gift of their countrymen.

Fathers of the Republic, and What They Left Us.

The sun that shines on this precious land to-day smiles upon the graves of the Fathers of the Republic. What did they not leave us! They bequeathed us liberty, the sweetest word the human mind can frame or tongue express; laws founded in mercy and justice; and a country rich in every material resource and blessing. How was this mighty Republic, the pride and boast of all nations, secured? By sacrifices marked in tears and blood; by years of anxious and distressing labor; by that heroic courage that sustained, and by that unwearied patriotism that encouraged and stimulated. Born amid the forest, filled with wild animals and lurking Indians, with but few of the comforts of life and little education, these fathers were still able to transmit to their posterity the priceless blessings and privileges they now enjoy. The value of this heritage cannot be estimated. It is better than gold, more precious than diamonds, and more powerful than any government ever known in the history of the world. Kings and emperors have been deposed to satisfy the revolutionary furies of insulted subjects, and empires have passed away, but the Republic established by our forefathers grows stronger with each succeeding generation of its people. Love of country among no other people is greater; obedience to govern-

ment nowhere more perfectly displayed. A land as yet almost entirely unrelieved of the vast forests where the Indian hunter "wooed his dusky mate," or sped the hurtling arrow to the heart of the panting stag; where are shown the scars of revolutionary bullets in buildings still standing; and where still are unmarred the grave-stones of those who fell in the conflict. New in many things and many ways, yet it holds in its grasp the balance of the power of the world.

Does it not behoove each one of the children of the Republic to extend and perpetuate the blessings and privileges left us by these hardy and noble sires? From where the angry roar of the Atlantic resounds in Maine to where the peaceful waves of the Pacific beckon to the land of gold in California is all our own, as it is from the sunny clime of Florida to the frozen regions of the North. This is the outgrowth of the thirteen States which in 1776, but little more than one hundred years ago, declared themselves a free people.

The history of the United States recounts the hardships, toils, and dangers that followed the Declaration of Independence.

We have improved the talents intrusted to us; we have been recreant in some things, but mainly constant, firm, and true. Mistakes have been made, but they have largely adjusted themselves, following the immutable law of the universe. We are stronger day by day, and year by year. When an account shall be rendered at the Judgment of our uses of what has fallen to us in this great Republic, we should be able to give answer in the sureness of a tireless duty.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The United States is peculiarly fortunate at this time in maintaining pacific relations with all foreign powers. The vast strides which our country has made in wealth and population, and in the wisdom and prudence of its government, command the respect and admiration of the civilized world. This is a model Republic, where the people find the enjoyment of liberty vouchsafed to them by a Constitution which is the preserver of freedom under the conditions therein embodied. All countries send their representatives to the seat of our National Government, and our representatives are to be found in all countries with which we have relations of trade and treaties. These interchanges of commercial transactions and peaceful relations have largely contributed to the welfare and prosperity of our own people, and brought them a better knowledge of all countries and nations. Except the belligerent attitude of Germany with reference to the Samoan Islands, there has been nothing to disturb our peaceful foreign relations for many years. By receiving the ministers, consuls, and consular agents of other countries, the diplomatic service of the United States is more beneficially conducted. Courtesies are in this way more easily and effectually reciprocated both at home and abroad. The ministers and consuls of the United States prove of valuable assistance as contributing to a better commercial understanding and agreement

between our country and foreign nations. Ministers with plenipotentiary jurisdiction are the accredited agents of the Government, who represent it among foreign nations with certain rights and privileges, including the rights to conclude treaties, effect commercial alliances, and establish peaceful relations. The consuls of the United States are not vested with such powers, but are held to perform all duties which involve the rights of United States citizens when such persons are residing or traveling in foreign countries. As commercial agents, they are expected to decide upon the authenticity of a ship's papers, "receiving and certifying protests of masters of vessels or other persons respecting losses at sea, and giving consular certificates for various purposes." Consuls are held amenable to the laws of the countries wherein they reside as the agents of our Government, such being the acknowledged rule among civilized countries. In exceptional cases, however, consuls in semi-civilized countries, as those of North Africa and some of the Asiatic dominions, where the laws are of inefficient operation, may exercise such duties as shall tend to preserve the lives and property of the citizens of the countries represented by them. Consuls are expected and required to care for disabled seamen, and to return them to their homes at the expense of their governments. They may also constitute arbiters in the settlement of disputes among seamen and to regulate their wages. These rights are clearly defined in the treaties with foreign nations and according to the laws made by Congress. Ministers have more extensive powers, as has been shown. The foreign relations of the United States were never more in accord with peace and the glory of the nation than now.

FREE TRADE.

The two political bugbears which have been for some time the subjects of grave reflection and interest, and which have been discussed with vigor, and in some instances with abuse, in this country, are free trade and protection as among the better systems of relief. By free trade is meant unrestricted commerce—the removal of duties or taxes upon imported or exported products. This serious question has agitated the world for centuries. Whether it be more conducive to national wealth and strength to impose on the people a species of taxation that might be thought oppressive and burdensome, or to place high duties upon foreign products to ostensibly prevent competition of foreign elements in our markets with many of our own products, are the two phases of the subject as they are being considered by the great political parties of today. It is claimed by the one side that a reduction of the tariff upon actual necessities and a continuation of duties upon luxuries would afford a just solution of the difficulty; while, on the other hand, their opponents maintain that better results would follow the continuation of the duties upon imports, whether of necessities or luxuries, as a means to the end of more effectually protecting home industries and home markets. The Democrats contend that under the low protection of this country there was not only better satisfaction, but greater uniform

advancement in general material interests than has been the result under a higher protection. The examples of other countries are cited to prove either position. The people of the world have been forced continually to consider these questions as involving national government, and the rights of taxation under it, for its support and the advancement and prosperity of general industries. By free trade is implied that freedom of intercourse and exchange of commodities which tends to promote pacific relations among different countries, and causes a greater and more rapid development of markets, commerce, manufacturing, and general industrial pursuits. But, as in the nature of all rules, some exceptions may be found, so, as regards free trade, it may be, perhaps, more reasonably to be considered in the light of demanding certain restrictions. It would appear, too, that protection, to a natural extent, would find much support from the self-interest which would undeniably be prompted as embraced in foreign competition. The farmer, who must be governed by the laws of supply and demand, and who, while affording through his labor the more actual and natural necessities of life as supplied in articles of food and certain materials for manufactures, must pay greatly increased prices for articles of clothing and his various other requirements if the high protection now resting upon these things be continued. In other words, the farmer must take the world's prices for what he has to sell, but must pay protected prices for what he has to buy. And this applies to the actual needs of farmers, as contrasted with luxuries, which are in numerous instances subjected to lower tariff rates. This discrimination against farmers and other laborers, and in favor of manufacturers, the rich, and others who may be bene-

fited thereby, has given rise to much controversy, and is still being considered by some of our best and ablest men with reference to a more satisfactory adjustment. The people of England, in the relations of manufactures and trade, are virtually free traders; nor can the declaration that they have greatly profited thereby be successfully refuted. The world admits the fact, but there may now exist in the United States certain differences in the nature of the industries of the people which would render absolute free trade disruptive of the ends so beneficially served by it in England. Nor can it be reasonably contended that the United States needs free trade, but rather a reduction and adjustment of the present burden of import duties, mainly because they make home prices extortionate.

While this question may never be settled to the satisfaction of everybody, its proper solution should be demanded by the people as in the nature of their constitutional rights. Intelligent farmers declare that under high protection they can barely make a living, as they must pay a price for their necessities out of all proportion to what they receive for their products. So, too, the wage-workers in the manufacturing industries declare that the present improper and disproportioned rewards of labor deprive them, under high protection, of what they should enjoy; and they contend that immigrant labor is unrestrained, and that under lower protection they would be relieved of these distresses which increase the prices of necessities. The high protection demanded for the greater sustenance and extension of manufactures and their relations, in which are embarked rapidly expanding capital, seems to have been heeded to the injury of farmers and the working classes generally.

Salary and wages are reckoned upon different conditions and degrees of labor. The bank president and the presidents and other officers and assistants in manufacturing, mercantile, and other lines, as contrasted with labor in its more specific and natural sense, receive salaries for their services; all others, wages. In the latter cases, the laws of demand and supply determine amounts; in the former cases, efficiency, responsibility, and the nature of the business determine amounts. Hence, as the great economist, Adam Smith, pertinently observes: "The rate of wages is fixed by *dispute* or *struggle* between employer and employed, and is generally just enough to supply their needs." The difference shown by these illustrations naturally suggests, in the light of the vast disproportion salaries and wages bear to each other, the greater ability of salaried laborers to enjoy luxuries than wage-workers to enjoy necessities. Further and statistical examples are given in the appendix to this volume, to which the attention of all its readers is earnestly requested. Reform in import duties is what is needed, or rather what is suggested under the present conditions of the tariff, as necessary to the safer and better conduct of the great industries of the country. Unequal taxation is or should be understood by everybody to mean unjust taxation. It is claimed by the friends of reform that the *larger* part of our national taxation is not within the nature of levies for public purposes. The question that a man cannot be free who pays taxes to his neighbor is another argument directly offered by the tariff reformers. It is said that private interests are the ruling motives to a high protection, which can not and do not mean the public welfare. Taxes for the benefit of the rich at the expense of the

poor is another and grave subject for consideration, and it is being argued by determined and vigorous parties. Many denounce a 47 per cent. tariff as "grand larceny," and the reduction to a 41 per cent. basis "petty larceny," or looking in that direction. It will further be seen by the readers of this book how far and to what end all questions involved in the considerations of free trade, or a reduction of the tariff and high tariff, or protection, bear upon them, and they will resolve them into their proper application. This brings up, as are brought up many other reasons in the nature and general effects of operating causes, the necessity of the hour for looking into vital questions with calm courage and determined zeal in defending the right and opposing the wrong. Common sense, and the good judgment arising therefrom, are the remedial agents to be employed, rather than impractical and vague theories arising from the lack of them. Victor Hugo says: "To have reached manhood will not prevent falling." And Colbert, another great Frenchman and a protectionist, has sensibly said: "Protective duties are the crutches by which manufacturers might learn to walk, but then they must throw them away." It has also been said, in the language of Scripture: "What shall it profit a man if he build up a nation of the wealthy and lose his own labor?" The people of the United States, although advanced far beyond all other nations in wealth and prosperity, still need security from plunging into the serious errors which might bring dangerous perils if persisted in. The interests of our people demand that they shall ceaselessly consider the surest measures of relief from oppressive systems, whether of taxation or otherwise, and must find in impartial and honest legislation the surest safeguards of national liberty.

Furnace and Factory.

In "Furnace and Factory" are included the varied relations of mining and manufacturing. From the mine to the furnace, and from the raw material to the factory, indicate the ways and means of arriving at the completed products through the crude and imperfect considerations of purely natural materials. The iron, coal, gold, silver, copper, lead, petroleum, and other natural products of the earth hence become the completed and marketable products of our furnaces and factories. These immense facilities of our national growth and wealth carry with them the valuable factors of labor and the important considerations of our exports. The products arising from our furnaces and factories compose the balance of national wealth and strength. The abundance of mineral deposits and materials for manufactures presupposes the most satisfactory conditions of our furnaces and factories. The output of our mines in 1886 represented a value of \$215,364,825 of metallic products; and of non-metallic products, \$219,615,218. The total value of the exports of domestic merchandise from the United States for the three months ending September 30, 1888, was \$140,815,414, of which \$74,928,156 were the products of our furnaces and factories. This was over one-half of the total value of domestic exports, and will appropriately illus-

trate the important part played by our furnaces and factories in the short period of three months. Elsewhere, under the head of "Gold and Silver," is given a presentation of those considerations of our national resources and increasing wealth. It has been shown how rapidly we are going ahead of the world in agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and general industries, and how largely in the future all other countries must depend upon us. Our people are making daily the most startling advances in the better conduct and extended products of all manufacturing and mining industries. We are justly credited with having the best workmen and the best tools in the world. Notwithstanding that our laboring classes are under the burden of oppressive and partial legislation, the wealth and strength of the United States are expanding into a balance of power among nations never previously accorded in the history of mankind. It hence becomes the duty of the representatives of the people in national council to preserve this position by making such laws as have not the tendencies to weaken and paralyze the labor elements—the bone and sinew of our country's prosperity and continued elevation. It has been elsewhere observed that the people of the United States could greatly increase in population and wealth without the products of her rich mines, so great are their other resources. In a country so blessed of heaven, and with such varied and valuable natural facilities and possibilities, there can, at this time, exist no tenable reasons for predicting its downfall, except upon the continuance of monopolies and the oppressive measures growing out of indirect taxation and the other evils therein involved, discussions of which form component parts and features of this work.

FINANCE.

The Greek states considered finance as the most important department of government, and it has been so held to this time. An economical, successful administration of the treasury and its policy have been generally well appreciated by the people. Plato, about 400 B. C., showed the necessity of money in the affairs of life, and favored an "established coinage as a symbol for the purposes of exchange and security." No better definition could well be given for money. National money came, has increased yearly, and extends to every civilized country, but not in all in the form of coinage. Effecting a balance of trade in gold and silver in favor of their own country has been a general *desideratum* with all, and especially with the writers of the mercantile school or system of thinking. Probably the most correct doctrines of early finance, as proved by future results, were published by Andrew Yarranton about 1680. He favored a general system of banking, and placing paper on a par with coin by making a credit through extended trade. Colbert, when at the head of the finances of France, about 1660, besides his great conservative reforms, established a system of checks and balances, thus creating order in accounts and in business transactions. Many able writers assert that money may be too abundant, as also too scarce, and in either case

injurious. Hume holds that money is solely and alone to facilitate exchanges, and apparently no stronger position can be taken. He argues, in theory, against a large national issue, but has "noticed that in every country into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, everything takes a new face; labor and industry gain life; the merchant becomes more diligent and skillful, and the farmer follows his plow with greater alacrity and attention." These things happen when money has been given time to circulate fully, and generally an excess brings reaction. At the time when Hume lived he says: "The amount of money circulating in any market for any commodity regulates the price of that commodity." But this was a century and a quarter ago. "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," by Adam Smith, was issued in the year of our Declaration of Independence. In it he says that the demand for labor can only increase in proportion to the increase of the funds destined for the payment of wages. He thinks that a country's prosperity does not depend upon the amount of money it issues, but terms money the great wheel of circulation—the great instrument of commerce. His views are in accord with those of Locke, Montesquieu, Hume, and Mill on this question. Circulating notes are held to have the effect of lowering the value of gold and silver, but of making them more useful. They decrease interest, work equality among men, and strengthen communities. Dr. Franklin, in 1729, in discussing the necessity and value of a paper currency, said it was favored by the "common people in general," but that "the rich man disliked it." As any current token or representative of value is a definition of money, it would seem

clear that, whether it be made of paper, cloth, or metal, would be dependent upon the desires of the people, so that it be secure, convenient, and current at par. Its percentage of value would depend upon its security, or assurance of redemption in articles of intrinsic worth. Safety and convenience demand that all money be worth par by the values behind and supporting it, and those values are desired to be known by the handlers of the money as being sufficient. Hence the acme of assurance would be the endorsement of the country by its issue; and the decision of its material would be on points of convenience and genuineness. Jewels, iron by the handful, leather, bark, cows, axes, shirts, salt, tea, skins, coal, bone, cocoanuts, corn, beans, chalk, eggs, and pins have been, for periods, used as money in the past. For individuals, money is the poorest thing to hold; and should a thing of value be sold, they would prefer to get in exchange another thing more desirable than a roll of bills. The bills would be a convenience only in case of delays in reinvesting. The desirable thing would seem to be for a Government to issue bills according to the volume of business of the country, upon the basis of past experience and probable growth. It would hardly seem to matter to any one how large an amount of money is in the Government treasury, unless taken from the taxpayers, since it makes the Government no richer, and those who get it must give intrinsic material worth, dollar for dollar, and get the shadow for the substance. That the supply should be equal to the demand is doubtless good logic and a proper policy, and an elastic or self-adjusting currency might equalize them and obviate panics, could sufficient safeguards be thrown around it, and it be supported and perfected.

More difficult things have evidently been successfully done.

The question of the finance of a nation is so intricately connected with taxation that it naturally and unavoidably leads to it as a source, when followed up. The taxpayers are the fathers of public finance, and each one of them has a duty to perform in seeing that the son makes good and proper use of the supplied funds, and does not bring ruin and disgrace on all. Taxation is discussed in this work separately; hence the reference to it here will be brief. In order to prosecute wars, maintain royalty, and support government, nearly all imaginary means have been resorted to, even to the levying of a tax on marriages, births and deaths, bachelors and widowers. Exacting a portion of legacies has frequently been the law. The latter is very favorably looked upon by philanthropic people as being the least onerous; for those who inherit property have generally made no effort to earn it, and can well do without it—at least a minor portion. Times have been when the main expenses of governments were collected from the rich alone, and in the fifteenth century largely by voluntary contributions. The Athenian systems of assessments command admiration by the evident desire to free the poor from taxation. It is true they indulged in import duties, but only as war measures, and to the extent of two per cent. *ad valorem*. The bulk of these resources was raised by direct property tax, which was so graduated that a citizen of a specified amount of wealth paid a percentage on each dollar, double the rate charged on each dollar belonging to a poorer man, and all persons owning less than about \$500 were totally exempt, save the small tariff of two per cent. on their purchases.


The necessarily large taxes were paid in this manner most willingly, and generally with pride. Rich Romans are recorded to have also been generous in this way until the latter days of the Empire, when the taxes were nearly entirely loaded on the middle classes. The great Empire was in such ways weakened until the small armies of invaders made it an easy prey. Coming down to our own times, we find already the spirit to evade tax; and though local taxes are of a direct kind, they are largely evaded by the rich. We make the poor laboring man, with possibly a large family, pay more Government tax than the average millionaire—through purchases of necessities. The matter of evasions of taxation has become not only respectable, but really one of justice; for where the bulk of the personal property goes free from taxation it would throw so heavy and unequal a burden on those who pay fully, that, so long as this continues, evading does not seem in itself unjust. Where taxation is double or treble, there is also a consciousness of propriety in having at least a portion omitted. To illustrate, we conceive a man mortgaging his farm to borrow money, which he invests in stock. The farm, the note given, and the stock purchased are all taxed fully, and the whole weight falls on the farmer, because the property cannot be hidden, and lenders adjust their percentages according to the supply of money, which is regulated by the amount it is taxed, it being transferable. Systems of raising revenue have been so various, with various loop-holes found or proved in each, that it makes the question, in a just, financial view, complicated and uncertain. The income tax is called inquisitorial and easily evaded. The graduated and succession or legacy taxes are considered unfair and

unequal taxation, the temptation to perjury and deceit greater, and the latter beaten by distribution of property before death. Attention to securing proper assessors and the fulfillment of laws honestly enacted for proper and severe search, and penalties for secretion or evasion with a direct property tax, is the simplest, is fair and just, and must be best. Let *none* escape it.

National finance has more and more incorporated banks as a part and parcel of itself. Though the Government, in an emergency for means, established the national banking system with an enormous advantage over all other banks, and has fed, pampered, and fathered it at a large cost to the people, yet its banks burst, do not increase in wealth beyond private and State banks, nor do they possess the elements of strength for depositors which the latter do. Ninety per cent., or nearly all, of their capital is no security; for it is pledged to secure the note-holders, who must be the first paid in case of failure. The system has doubtless built up a class, generally of wealthy people, who have a common tie and interest, and are vastly valuable for a political party to bid for by offering special privileges and deposits. A direct issue of our money by the Government would seem to be no more dangerous or tempting for a party in power than is this indirect circulation, which it really issues and controls with the aid of wealth, and which loses the country millions of uncompensating dollars. It is evident from the past history of banking that, when capitalists have been in partnership with governments in the banking business, the former have reaped rich rewards, and the inexperienced party has, from partiality, interested advice, or manipulation, had the bare bone at the summing up. The level-headed Germans, who established the

Royal Bank of Prussia, operated it as a government bank; and while successful, it in no way interfered with other systems of banking, which were also highly successful. The more modern American manner of business took the partnership form with the Government. The "president, directors, and company of the Bank of the United States" wound up in 1811 with a profit to the stockholders, in about eighteen months prior to closing, of eighty-eight per cent., and a further dividend of eight and one-half per cent. as premium above the capital. This partnership system of wealthy men with our Government has resulted in two total suspensions of payment. The national banks of the present day were organized on a basis of government bonds as a security for circulation. These bonds were purchased of the Government by the earlier banks at different prices, but would probably average near fifty-five cents on the dollar in the depreciated currency. Before the maturity of these bonds, Congress was prevailed on to make them payable in gold; hence, when due, they were worth par and premiums, probably averaging twenty per cent. Besides the annual interest, averaging about six per cent., on these bonds, and the average advance in worth of say sixty-five per cent., these banks were allowed ninety dollars of circulation to loan at market rates for every one hundred dollar bond so purchased. They thus again repeated the huge partnership profit of 1811, and on an issue of \$300,000,000 of bonds. The Bank of England, when once renewing its charter from the Government, secured eight per cent. on a loan of \$6,000,000, besides a yearly bonus of \$520,000 from the Government. The stockholders of the National Bank of Scotland receive as high as fourteen per cent. dividends on their

stock, and the Bank of Ireland stock pays twelve per cent., with millions of surplus earnings, or "reserve." The Bank of France was enabled, in a comparatively brief time, to purchase and cancel nearly one-fourth of its entire capital out of its surplus profits. The remaining shares have varied in value, but have generally been worth from three to four times their original cost. This, too, was a partnership of wealthy citizens generally and the Government, and to them, as in England, the Government has become a large debtor. In railroad building and other adventures of partnership with capitalists, to which the Government has consented, we have fair and illustrious examples in the building of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific Railroads. How in these the Government made a disgraceful list of shoddy millionaire railroad kings at the expense of the producing taxpayers will be shown under the proper heading. Any one citizen, though a large payer of taxes, feels keenly that his voice and vote are but a feather against these cyclone wrongs; yet it is the little drops of water and little grains of sand which make both the ocean and the land, and the great things of earth have had small beginnings. The times are gone when "To lordlings proud we must tune our lay," and it is false and dangerous modesty to wait and work in deference to wealth combined with political wire-workers. Eternal vigilance is the price not only of liberty, but of home and comforts, and is the destroyer of want, which is the soil the Anarchist cultivates. Every man is expected to do his duty, and he who cowers and holds his peace, or sells his vote to his oppressors, is a miserable dolt and a traitor. The finances of a nation are its life-blood, and if they are impure, restrained, or sapped, some members



of the body will decay and the whole become diseased,—and reach an early grave. Intelligence, through Attention, Thought, and Endeavor, is needed in every man who is a *citizen*; for if he be intelligent and know actual conditions, he cannot afford to let pass the great opportunity to vote for a pure, impartial system of finances. The man who says, "My vote don't amount to so much as a little money does to me now," is not only ignorant, but acknowledges his vote of no public good; hence it should not be received to add to public corruption.

The deepest and most intricate puzzle or problem is clear and simple when, by study or information, it is solved. So the great leaders, whom we are so liable to look to, like superstitions, lose their weight and glory when faced and tested. The world has many Goliaths, and they are known of all; but it has a thousand fold more Davids, who, did they but realize and dare to properly use their power, would slay these devouring, usurping giants. Not only slay, but bury them too deep for resurrection. These monstrosities are made by trusts, pools, corners; by jobbery, bribery, and deceit; and they obtain bank, railroad, and other chartered or stolen privileges, which force the laboring masses to pay them immense tributes without equivalent compensation. The Government issues and backs the \$300,000,000 to \$400,000,000 of bank bills afloat, and gets no benefit but a one per cent. tax—and there is a deficit in that each year, averaging nearly \$400,000—for fair reasons. This money is loaned out to the taxpayers of the country at from four to thirty per cent., according to the law of supply and demand, or should be so. A low average would be six per cent. The national banks, then, have borrowed of the United States Government an average


of about \$300,000,000 for over twenty years at one per cent. interest and a nominal charge by giving, as security, bonds issued by the United States to *borrow* money, and on which they have paid interest on all classes, excepting the Pacific Railway bonds, at an average rate of about five and two-ninths per cent. Although the great profits of national banks were made prior to 1870, when the greatest advance was made in the values of their bonds, yet, without including any advance since that date even, we find their average semi-annual net earnings to be close to \$26,000,000, or \$52,000,000 per year. As the capital for this period was in round numbers \$500,000,000, it shows a net annual earning of over ten per cent. The last United States Statistical Abstract shows a surplus made out of profits, above dividends paid, of \$184,416,991. The dividends paid, since 1870, aggregate over \$814,000,000. What portion of all these vast sums is realized from circulation by the national banks no one can tell. We know that a tax of one per cent. and some minor fees and restrictions are put upon them; besides, the capital invested in the Government bonds does not requite them as well as if in other securities; but, with these exceptions, they make clear all they get for loans of the notes given them by the Government. These facts are not brought out in blame of any stockholder or officer of national banks. They are intended to show that the Government borrowed millions of dollars at an average of about five and two-ninths per cent. interest, and at the *same* time loaned out to banks about \$300,000,000 at a rate of one per cent. That it borrowed this money in currency, worth in 1864 (when this banking system went into force) thirty-eight and seven-tenths cents on the dollar, and up to 1879, when it

became par, but made the bonds it gave all payable in gold, and free from tax. This made some of them reach in value to one hundred and thirty cents on the dollar. The American taxpayers still keep this system in force, and why their Government is not saving this money for them, instead of heavily taxing them, is a conundrum of their own making. The only even plausible argument or reason for a country not to issue its money direct is that it might cause too great a centralization of power. This must be thoroughly disproved by the successful and innocent history of all direct money issues, as the greenback and others, and by the fact that the same power which created the national banks and fully commands them would make and regulate a direct issue. Evidently all who are not in the ring will find it to their interest, very largely, to oppose all partnerships in any way, or with anybody, when their government is to be a partner. Where it furnishes the money against experience, the usual reversal is sure with it, and the experience it gets for the money gone seems to get lost in the multitude of counselors. Let the competent men of the country do the banking and all other business where competition is possible, and the Government issue the circulation, and possibly own the railroads, telegraphs, and other monopolies where competition seems impossible. This would seem to hold true from national affairs—as money—down to municipal affairs, as supplying gas, water, and electric lights.

But purify your elections.

Fashionable Follies.

For change from practical thought, Americans often indulge in brief jests and light nonsense. The leaders of fashion find constant and well-paid employment in introducing to one class of our people frivolous European customs. We have as yet few fashions of our own of original conception, but "'tis English, you know," in the same sense that some foolish Americans take semi-annual trips to Paris to study style, while knowing but little of their own country's. Nothing grieves the fine lady or gentleman more than to be behind the fashion. The female domestics of our households fall into line and fight the battle of fashion as industriously as their employers. They do this even to wearing bustles and chewing gum, which are singular fashions of this country. The average young lady, discarding candy, because no longer fashionable, falls back upon gum, and, like the men who stop chewing tobacco and indulge only in smoking, they never know when they have had enough of it. Of the number who now consume this very necessary commodity, the fashionable young lady composes a large proportion. The practice does away with conversation, and it is no uncommon sight to see belles and their beaux chewing away in delighted concert. The system threatens to become universal. In a late newspaper has been discovered the following interesting



item: "Our esteemed and venerable friend, Mrs. Arabella Jones, surprised us in our sanctum yesterday while setting type and chewing gum. We have found this habit very soothing and comforting in our many afflictions; we were startled, however, by discovering that the old lady herself was thus indulging—performing, as it were—the last sad act in the gum-chewing business. The discoverer of gum deserves a gold medal. How people could get along without it is beyond our reckoning." When American newspapers defend such systems, what can be done except to submit?

The wearing of bustles, not to mention many other devices for improving (?) the female form and appearance, represents another highly important fashion of the times. The bustle is useful in many ways. It saves trouble in holding up the dress and in other respects, and, when it is discarded, may form the frame-work of a bird's nest, or serve for the foundation of a garden or lawn rake. Farmers whose wives wear bustles may get a chance thus to transform them. It is difficult to know or to explain the bustle, although "there is much bustle made over it." It came in without notice, like the unexpected visitor it was. It flourishes at aristocratic receptions, at "pink" teas, and late breakfasts. It is said to be of great assistance in playing progressive euchre and progressive angling. But how this is only those well acquainted with it can fathom. Teas of any color have a sort of warm, comfortable sound about them, and progressive euchre and progressive angling are harmless employments; but the wearing of the bustle is like "wearing o' the green"—there's often seeming danger in it. This is no reflection upon the Irish, nor an insult to the glorious "shamrock," so dear to every Irishman's heart.

No reliable figures have yet been obtained that give the number of the home consumption of bustles, nor of the imports and exports of our country in this department. We must allow femininity many privileges we cannot enjoy or appreciate, but there seems much mystery about the domestic superfashionable lady and the domestic dude, as well as those of foreign manufacture. For the latter the American market is a bad one, as Brother Jonathan will insist on making jokes about and laughing at him.

The tulip craze is subsiding; ceramic painting fallen into disgrace; croquet, tennis, and amateur photography but seldom indulged in; draw poker limited almost to Kentucky; "milk plush" a forgotten dream; but gum and the bustle are destined to long life and corresponding favor in our enlightened country.




Gentlemen of the Period.

As a companion to the foregoing article, a passing tribute to these personages may be pardoned.

The term "gentleman" has been sadly abused in this country, not to mention the custom of any other. In the abstract, a gentleman is considered to be (to follow the original meaning of the term) a weak, gentle, timid, creature—too gentle for use and too feeble to make his own living. In the concrete, however, he bobs up serenely as one incapable of dishonor or any mean action. He used to be a duelist—would shoot a man like a dog for any aspersion upon his fair name and character as a gentleman. This species of gentleman has almost become extinct, and has been replaced to a great extent by the more modern dude, of sun-flower fame, or his more suitable elevation into the English cockney. It is especially difficult to define the gentleman of the period, since he has been so mercilessly deposed by the dude. It appears that a degenerate representative of the gentleman of the old school has relapsed into femininity for a distinction. The gentleman of the period must then be a hybrid—the connecting link, in other words, between a dude and a true gentleman. But in the present age of improvement in everything, the former gentleman will develop possibly into a cane-sucking, embroidered shirt, poodle-dog exemplar; the æsthetic essence of eau-de-cologne-filtered

handkerchiefs, single eye-glasses, swell clothes, high collars, crushed-strawberry neckties, grass-green trousers, and hats and boots of more finish and polish than the understandings they adorn. To sum up this indescribable novelty, which, under existing laws in this country, partakes both of an import and export signification, the market is becoming overstocked; and unless the exports in the next few years largely exceed the imports, the people at large must suffer. America has always been healthy ground for true gentlemen, but more so in its early days than now can be the case. There are many and loud complaints against the longer fostering of this late parasitic growth, which thrives upon whatever it becomes attached to. The most decided encouragement to this species of humanity without brains or a soul is given by the present class of over-fashionable young ladies. But it may be hoped that a truer human and civilizing policy may possess these excellent gentlemen of the period, who ape English customs and denounce everything American. They thrive upon abuse, and, like butterflies, exult in all of the colors of the rainbow as a means of gaining imitation and notoriety. Unlike the modest little ant, immortalized in illustration by Solomon, they use the present moment in the cosmetical preparation of a killing moustache, or in framing a device for heightening the bloom on their cheeks, or to prevent their trousers from bagging at the knees, and not for any purpose of actual labor. But the time will come, amid the ever-swelling tides of our industry, when they will be engulfed beyond any hope of extrication by some succeeding novelty. Let us hope for an improvement.



necticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to be free, sovereign, and independent States; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, proprietary, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

As showing the character of government the people of the United States had before the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, here are presented a few articles of the

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

[The Articles of Confederation were agreed to November 15, 1777, and were ratified July 9, 1778, by ten States; by New Jersey, on the 26th day of November of the same year; and by Delaware, on the 23d of February, following. Maryland, alone, held off two years more, acceding to them March 1, 1781, and thus closing the obligation.]

The following are some of the articles :

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I. The style of this Confederacy shall be "The United States of America."

ARTICLE II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attack made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

the nominal readmission of the seceding States into the Federal Union. The laws advised and provided for in the Constitution of the United States are naturally the restrictions which were considered essential to the sustenance of government, and its freedom from dangerous and evil tendencies. An immutable law of the universe decrees that large numbers of people without a recognized head which is a court of last appeal, and which controls by popular consent, cannot long be maintained. Even among the rudest and most barbarous nations of the earth, obedience of the people to the laws made for them by their recognized chief has existed. How much more so it must be in a country like this, daily and hourly advancing in all material and speculative ways, is apparent to every thinking mind. Restrictive measures, in the sense of the exercise of government, mean liberty and all of the true forces by which an enlightened people may command peace and security from disaster to themselves, their families, and temporal possessions. While in some instances the Government has imposed unnecessary and unequal restrictions upon commerce, productions and trade, it has usually made a proper use of its restrictive powers to the public welfare. It might, with much show of reason in exceptional cases, have looked more closely to equal interests in levying taxes and attaching duties where they belong. Governmental restrictions should operate for the good of all alike without a single exception, and thus never become burdens.

As showing what Great Britain acknowledged in the treaty of 1783 with the representatives of the United States, here is a copy of

ARTICLE I. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. : New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Con-

necticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to be free, sovereign, and independent States; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquish all claims to the government, proprietary, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

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GOLD AND SILVER.

Gold and silver, as the natural bases of money and currency, have for ages been a usual *standard* with all nations; also for personal adornment and the materials for various manufactures. Of the world's supply of these absolute monarchs of modern civilization, that of the United States alone has, particularly since the discovery of the gold mines of California and the silver mines of Nevada, been more than equal to the demand. It is estimated that the United States to-day produces fully one-half of the world's supply of these essential commodities. From 1870 to 1880 \$721,000,000 of the precious metals were the products of the mines of this country. From 1848 to 1887 its total gold and silver product is officially shown to have been \$2,551,984,544. Considering the supply of the world, it is calculated that about three-fourths is used in coinage, and the balance in the arts. For the three months ending December 31, 1888, the value of gold and silver coin and bullion exported from the United States represented \$19,644,841. The total coinage of the United States mint for 1887 was \$57,703,413.40, of which \$22,393,279 was gold, \$34,366,483.75 silver, and \$943,650.65 minor coinage. The amount of gold coin and bullion in the country, on November 1,

1885, as an average illustration, was, according to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, \$586,727,787= and of silver coin (of which "the sum of \$39,512,979 in lawful money has been deposited by the national banks to retire circulation of a like amount, which has not yet been presented for redemption"), \$307,658,827. The amount of gold and silver coin in the United States Treasury, and in National and State banks, on the date above mentioned, was of gold, \$235,251,499, and of silver, \$199,744,216. In the enumeration of the gold in the United States Treasury, certificates are excluded, while in National and State banks they are included. As demonstrating the progress and importance of the American nation, even a casual glance at the great mineral wealth of the country, as embraced in gold and silver, outside of the other useful metals, will show its wonderful and unprecedented possibilities. Still more plainly may these great agents be seen in the almost inexhaustible deposits of gold, silver, and other useful metals, as yet undeveloped, to say nothing of other and equally important considerations elsewhere touched upon in this work. The possible future of the American Republic is bound up in the proper use and application of all the resources with which nature has so abundantly supplied it. Gold and silver alone are not the true secrets of elevation and security. Rather are they found in the great power of the people, in labor, advancement in education, improvement of laws, living and legislation, extension of manufactures, a more equal imposition of taxation, and freedom from oppressive systems. The peaceful condition of the country, and its satisfactory relations with all civilized countries and peoples, permits to-day no hindrances, save such as are elsewhere cited, and the influences that follow

them, to the continual occupation and development of material resources and the beneficial results that must spring therefrom. Wisdom, prudence, and faith in the perpetuation of the liberties and future growth and increased wealth of the country, are the valuable suggestions which must appeal to every man's higher reason and judgment.



GREED AND GLUTTONY.

When men have had enough of anything (considering a natural law which the brute creation instinctively observes), it would seem but reasonable that they would leave it alone. Reason and instinct have been variously defined ; but, after all, the plainest understanding of these principles appears to lie in the capacity of improvement in man, and in the lack of it in the brute. Greed for gain was early implanted in the minds of men as a means of protection from and security against oppression, as well as to gratify human desire for an extension of comforts. Under these conditions greed is a purely selfish motive, and hence as pardonable as any other motive that drives a person to exceed the bounds of that which is purely reasonable. The persecutions of the Jews in the Middle Ages compelled them to be sharp traders in order to procure the ways and means of supporting life. In Europe the wars against Paganism, Mohammedanism, and of conflicting religious denominations, ending in the peace of Westphalia in 1648, were especially hurtful to the Jews. They fled to Holland, Venice, Turkey, Morocco, and other countries, and began to acquire money and to become rich. They were the money lenders of Europe at the time, and were distinguished for the most rigid economy and shrewdness in their

transactions. Hence were more particularly derived the characteristics of the Jews, which have been a matter of much condemnation by Christians.

We can usually find an outlying cause for mere greed, but gluttony, as it prevails among the people of the United States today, is to be more regretted and denounced. A reasonable and natural quantity of clothes, food, and luxuries does not afford satisfaction. Some people expend enough money in a month in eating to support a laboring man's family for a year as they now live. The greed that prompts the acquisition of great wealth should not presuppose unreasonable haste in getting rid of it in gluttony. Gluttony in food, drink, and luxuries of all sorts is not consistent with man's higher estate. Any man should be ashamed to go beyond any law which is purely natural in the gratification of his actual or necessary wants. When he does, he thus becomes a subject of greed and gluttony. Even many of the children of the present day are brought up to habits of indulgence in whatever they fancy, when it requires but a moment's reflection by their parents or guardians to see how dangerous may be the tendency thus fostered and encouraged. Advancement in civilization seems rather to increase than to diminish these evils, which is all the more deplorable, as showing the departure of our people from ancestral training and teaching. The great masses must unite to resist the gigantic absorption by the few.

HONEST COMPETITION.

Competition has been called "the life of trade," but the word has a much broader meaning, as implied in "the act of seeking the same object that another is seeking."

[It is very difficult to define *honest* competition, for the reason that by the very nature of competition many of those who use it almost insensibly bring into it some of the features of dishonesty. The purely selfish principles of human nature suggest continually the employment of ways and means that have not the strictest honesty for their purposes. All men, in whatever station, occupation, or employment in which competition is found, must experience the temptation to take advantage in one way or another.] While dishonest thought or aim may be very far from actual intention in the beginning, the constant application of a principle of this sort, following others who do not scruple about it, will naturally tend to that design. The merchant, for instance, will, under some circumstances, sell an article of his stock at cost, taking the chance of making it up out of an increased price on others. In this sense the sword cuts both ways. He is unjust to himself and to his more conservative competitors, who are aiming to get a fair profit out of everything they sell. Likewise the manufacturer who cuts the prices of his products by employing labor at poor prices in order to undersell the products of his competitors. In

other cases he uses cheap materials, or resorts to deceptive advertising or keen salesmanship to overcome his hitherto more successful rival, who uses good materials and pays good prices for his labor.] The encouragement given to these unjust, not to say dishonest, practices, has a dangerous example embodied in it. Even the farmer, usually disposed to look at his neighbor's concerns in a charitable way, doubtless takes little advantages in various directions. The prices of labor have been cheapened by the individual greed of some men, who distress their fellow laborers, differently situated from themselves as regards families and other considerations, by offering their services at a cheaper rate. But these things are all difficult of remedy. These evils exist, and are not to the credit of those who profit by their use. Were all men guided by the rule of viewing their own condition in the light of those of others, there would ensue more honesty in work and more benefit in competition. Among the graver questions of the hour, demanding intelligent and judicious settlement, the question of competition, as partaking of injurious tendencies, is prominent and important. [The American disposition to get rich rapidly, and the temptation therein to overstep the bounds of honesty in the pursuit of such a purpose, are among the leadings to dishonest competition. The vast natural possibilities of our country afford not only sure means of a living, but a great variety of opportunities for great wealth. Therefore he who would grow rich at the cost of others unable to compete with him in labor or skill, or shrewdness and sharp dealing, either has but little honesty, or is in too great a hurry to acquire wealth to render him strictly observant of the rights and interests of others. To succeed, a man is not obliged, as some may

assert, to perform his work or use his capital in a dishonest manner. There is no law to prevent any one in this country from making all the money he can fairly; but the law of reason and conscience has much to do with the honesty or dishonesty in the manner of making it. Labor is health, and its rewards are sweet; but when those rewards are obtained by deceit and cunning, and the various other dishonest ways possible, they become as gall and wormwood to their possessors. If these be the ultimate penalties to those who go to excess in competition, the lot of those who rob, by combining to prevent it entirely, will be a grim and sorry one.



HOME BLESSINGS.

Since man, for his disobedience of divine mandate, was forced into the necessity of earning a living by the sweat of his brow, a Home has been his ambition. It is a relief from labor, and brings around him a congenial companionship, the smiles and prattle of children, and the comforts which are the rewards of his industry. Here dwell the influences which form his habits and mould his character for good or evil. Considered merely as a human habitation to protect from the weather, as was the design in the earliest ages of the world, home loses its charm. It can never be too humble to produce the blessings which should there ever be found. Some men are so humane in their natures as not to disturb the disused nest of a bird, or allow it to be disturbed, because it was once the home of a mother bird which they had watched swell its throat in gladness in the sunlight which rested upon its sacred twigs. The associations of home never fail to follow men, however widely they may stray from its shelter and its blessings. Especially must this be the case with those who, for religious zeal or love of travel and adventure, roam in foreign lands among strange peoples and serious dangers. They make the greatest sacrifice, except life itself, to resign the prop that supported their tender years, and which first awakened the gratitude to heaven for home's protection and pleasures. Amid the

trials and cares and anxieties of such as are exiled from home and native land, the recollection of the incidents that there occurred forces tears into the eyes that, long unused to weeping, would not be filled for other cause. Home presupposes a father's and a mother's love, and without it how unhappy must the children be whose hearts have found none of the sweet flowers and gloried memories that cluster about the hearthstone of an affectionate family. Within the sacred portals of home the young mind, grasping for knowledge, receives the first forces that put in motion the mental machinery, and there in later life are developed the wisdom and experience of age, which ripen judgment. Unless, therefore, the home training of children be of daily concern and practice by the parents, they must grow up unfitted to discharge the duties that will devolve upon them when they must enter the great world alone to secure homes for themselves. Many responsibilities, cares, and trials are resting upon the fathers and mothers of today. More so than ever, because there are more dangers in sight to the home blessings they should confer upon their children. These children will be the fathers and mothers of the next generation, and upon them must depend the destiny of this grand Republic. The blessings of home should brighten every hour, but they cannot bring the influences with which they should be tinged, as with gold of the sun upon darkening clouds, if love and duty be not hourly employed in securing them. No opportunity should be lost that can add to the true blessings of home, as upon them rests the fate of the nation for good or evil. It is not alone that home must supply good precept and example, but it must also put them in practice. Home has few blessings if its inmates are not agreed upon the true

sources from which they may be procured. How sublime is the motive that brings into the home circle a smiling face and cheerful conversation! Like a bright day after stormy weather is the face of the wise man, who, although he has spent a day of business trouble, can bring home a face in which none of his cares appear. Great sacrifices must sometimes be made to render the home happy. Never should a sour temper be there permitted to show itself; for, of all places, home should be freed from the fires of anger and the words that stir up strife and quicken hasty judgment. Home blessings are too holy to be thus invaded by human weaknesses.



HEALTH IN LABOR.

The health that waits upon labor is among its best results, as it must continue to be among its greatest blessings. More particularly is health to be derived from out-door employment, as life on the farm and an active participation in its many and varied labors. Physical exercise is essential to health, under any and all circumstances, whether it be in the nature of labor or recreation. It must be borne in mind, however, that in labor are to be found the surest correctives of many abuses of health, as bringing into play influences of the more satisfactory sort upon the mind as considered in contrast to idleness. Idleness is the parent of many vices, some one says; and it is true. The freedom from the annoying reflections that one is making no use of physical or mental abilities to procure protection from want and suffering, sweetens labor and gives it a value which all true men must appreciate and carefully consider. How often have the wearied journalist and accountant, tired out in body and mind at the desk of unremitting application, found, in the life and labor of the farm and shop, relief and a return to the blessings of health. There are other occupations and employments just as necessary, but many of them are pursued under considerations not

leading to, but rather away from, health. Any one, however, may take from business enough time for rest and healthful exercise. It is in purifying and driving away from man the tendencies to evil that, in idleness, prey too continually and strongly upon him, and which he cannot long successfully resist, that labor possesses its greatest benefit. The atmosphere of diligent labor usefully directed is always of a healthy nature. Into it cannot enter the many foes that assail the idle, who have not the shield of protection that labor gives to all who enter its hallowed gateway. Labor dignifies and ennobles when in moderation; it permits the enjoyment of comforts and luxuries, and gives to home its sacred charm; it dashes away the bitter cup of poverty, and gives instead the nourishing and acceptable food of contentment; it dispels dread conceits of coming evil, and dries the tears of the afflicted. Labor is man's heaven-born heritage in exchange for the curse of disobedience; and yet men are ungrateful, and disposed to quarrel with their truest friends. What truer and better friend can any one possess than useful labor, the key that unlocks the casket of wisdom and exposes to our startled gaze the treasures that lie within? For every honest and determined end of labor there is sure reward. "There is no reward without toil" is a proverb as old as history, and as true today as when it first found lodgment in the minds and hearts of men. The faithful servant of labor hears in every blow he strikes the sure sound of the power committed to him, and which will bring him the fine gold of merited approval.

The health in labor, considered in all of the relations attaching to it, further brings a comfort and satisfaction which cannot be too highly estimated. The surest rem-

edy that can be applied, when men are suffering from defeat in business and the attendant consequences, is renewed and persistent labor. Who can measure the value of labor? It is a possession that cannot be stolen, and only ceases to serve when men, from exhausted energies or enfeebled age, can no longer command it. From the beginning to the end of life it waits upon us; and whoever will use it will not be deprived of its wonderful and magnificent bounties.



Indolence is Disease.

As labor is man's greatest blessing, so is indolence his greatest curse. As labor is health, so indolence is disease. Man in a condition of idleness is about as useless a thing as is to be found in nature. He prefers to live by some one else's labor. The world owes him a living, and he manages somehow to get it. But he is an industrious collector, although he would walk a mile to get around work. He attaches himself, like the mistletoe, to whoever will support him. He is a true parasite. His tongue has but little end to it. It wags from morning to night; invents seemingly plausible theories of work, but never attempts them. He is full of advice to all who will listen. Can such a man be healthy? He *cannot* enjoy good health, because he is too lazy to do so. No way has as yet been found to make him healthy and to put him to work. He cannot be got rid of. People who labor and who are compelled to help this poor creature do not make much effort to turn him in the direction of labor. They are too busy to take any account of him; so he is left to his misery and poverty. He has not a grain of independence in his whole composition. He pines and dies at last, and the world is better for his being out of it. But, like mushrooms, these people spring up. Many infest our large cities, and these are dignified by the city directories as "floating

population." The term is very nearly correct: they float for a time upon the current, until borne away to another port where there is better and safer anchorage. Where free lunches are abundant in saloons, there he may often be found. For this privilege he is sometimes obliged to do a little work. But how it grieves him! His whole aim is to get drink, a little food, and less clothing. He, of courses, uses tobacco; but this he must obtain in some way that does not call for money, for of that he has none, and never can have, unless he go to work—and this is highly improbable. He has got to that point that he cannot work. He is too unhealthy, and his influence is corrupting. Nobody will give him employment, so he must keep on to the end of the chapter. An even more disgusting specimen is the idler who develops into a sneak thief, and the more genteel sort of gentry—gamblers and workers of chances. These are, perhaps, to be included in the list of those who live by their wits, and not by any kind of labor.

If there is any worse disease than that of idleness, it has not yet been discovered. Good and true men, who value the rewards of labor, look upon idleness with a dread that equals that of yellow fever; for it is more general in its effects, and more to be detested. While there may sometimes be luck in leisure, indolence never pays.

INTERNAL REVENUE.

The enormous debt incurred during the four years of civil war, and the need for meeting it by some good species of taxation, resulted in the establishment, by the Government of the United States, of what is known as a Department of Internal Revenue. Under this system, whisky and all alcoholic liquors classed as spirits and fermented liquors; perfumery; tobacco of all sorts, manufactured and in a natural state; deposits in banks; penalties and other documents and writings, including checks upon banks; and many other articles—were made to pay a tax. This tax was laid in 1863, and from it has been collected since, including 1887, considerably over three and a half billions of dollars. These taxes have been from time to time repealed, until now they are only collected from tobacco, spirits, and oleomargarine—the tax upon the latter article having been imposed in 1887. Thus the total interest-bearing public debt of the United States, which in 1863, when the Department of Internal Revenue was created, was \$707,531,634.47—increased in 1864 to \$1,359,930,763.50, and in 1865 to \$2,381,530,294.96, its highest point—has since gradually decreased until in 1889 it had dwindled down to \$950,522,500, less than one-half of what it was in 1865.

The vast capabilities of our country for raising large sums of money can thus be readily seen, and afford

another and striking reason for reducing the burdens of taxation when the necessity for the bulk of them has passed. No one can reasonably oppose the tax on whisky and tobacco, or upon other luxuries; but to make discriminations against necessities to cheapen luxuries can only result in just opposition, if not in open revolt eventually. The defense of this position, for all who would consider it to their best interests to investigate, will be found in the various other subjects treated in this work. Were the other modes of taxation as correctly placed and adjusted as that of internal revenue, there would be no complaint and but feeble issues between the citizens or any classes in our land. No one would object to paying for the privilege of enjoying a luxury who could do so; but when it comes to taxing necessities beyond the ability of the poor to possess them, except through severe denials and sufferings in other directions, the inequality and injustice therein involved show for themselves. The internal revenue system of taxation, as a means of paying the war debt, was a judicious and salutary measure, and should be a reminder to our representatives that, with the growing millions in the coffers of the United States Treasury beyond the possible needs of the Government, the laborers and wage-workers of the country should be now relieved from all oppressive taxation. They advocate protection which does not protect labor, but subjects it to lower wages, greater expenses, and consequent suffering.

IMMIGRATION.

Since the foundation of the American Republic, laid upon the broad basis of charity and equal rights to all who become its citizens, it has afforded an asylum and protection for the oppressed of all nations. It has been a haven for those who have desired progress and prosperity. It has been estimated that during the ninety years before 1880 ten millions of the people of foreign countries found homes in the United States, and since that time immigrants have been pouring into the country in a largely increasing ratio. In 1888 the number of immigrants arriving in the United States, as per the "Statistical Abstract of the United States," was 546,889, as against 334,203 in 1886. Since 1874, when the number was 313,339, the largest arrival of immigrants into the country was in 1882, when 788,992 came in. The attractiveness of our country in all its varied and profitable relations of labor, soil, climate, and institutions is a strong inducement for the poor of Europe to come to the United States, where millions have found homes, peace, and the blessings of freedom. They may acquire property as speedily as anywhere, and in five years, if worthy subjects, may become naturalized citizens, possessed of the rights of suffrage and representation. All avenues of labor are open to them, and they may thus receive the surest returns for their industry, which, by economic prac-

tices, may soon become the nucleus of valuable property. They may stand shoulder to shoulder with our own workmen and laborers, and derive as full rewards for their industry and proficiency. [But the tendency of unrestricted immigration, as elsewhere treated of in this work, is of dangerous import as increasing socialism and anarchy, and all the horrors therein implied. Besides these evils, there are even as great, if not greater, to be found in cheapening labor and in the occupation of lands which might be acquired by good citizens. This is a country overflowing with wealth and natural resources. Here every man who will work can procure food and clothing to a greater extent than in any other country, and by strict economy "lay up money for a rainy day."]

It is said by John Rae, an eminent statistician, that in Prussia nearly one-half of the population live on an annual income of \$105 to a family. In the United States, at the present rate of wages—seldom, if ever, lower than one dollar per day, and from that to five, six, or more dollars per day—a laborer may expend twice or thrice or four times as much without being in danger of wasting his substance. The prevalence of common or public schools, religious toleration, and many other advantages to be had here over all other countries, are the inducements to even a greater degree of immigration. But a movement in this country to petition Congress to make the necessary laws for the restraint of immigration is becoming daily more and more essential to the enjoyment in security of our peace and the blessings of our liberty.

Interest Accumulations.

The primary idea of usury, or interest, was the requirement of a return in kind for the use of money, and therefore the lender of money was he who received anything above the amount which was loaned. It was, among some peoples, regarded as an infringement of moral rights, and the Koran especially declaims against it. But it is no longer so regarded, as common consent agrees that it is no more wrong to demand money for the use of money than for the use of a house, a horse, or any other representative or kind of property. The disposition, however, to abuse the principle has led nearly all Christian nations to adopt fixed standards of interest for the use of money. If more be taken than is permitted by law, it comes within the sense of usury, and is not permissible except under laws governing contracts. In the latter consideration it is now the growing opinion that what may be demanded under a specific contract cannot be construed as an infringement of the laws determining usury. In the reign of Henry VIII., in England, the legal rate of interest was ten per cent.; but in James the First's time it fell to eight per cent. Under the Commonwealth it was six per cent., but by the Statute of 12, Anne, it fell to five per cent. In the United States there are different laws in the different States regulating usury, and they have different signification

and operation, the rate ranging from six to ten per cent. In a large number of the States the parties can decide upon what rate they choose, the legal determination operating where a prior agreement had not been entered into; but in some others, as New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, and Tennessee, the contract or agreement can be avoided if there be a reservation demanding above the legal rate of interest.

The calculations of interest based upon "Rowlett's tables," in which the year is computed at 360 days, but with a casting of fractions on the lender's side, are, at this time, among the recognized systems.

The enormous increase of capital invested in this country through the agency of interest, is becoming a very fruitful source of income to every one having money to loan. Its multiplying power can be easily demonstrated by many farmers who have given notes and mortgages bearing heavy penalties. The possessor of large capital can so place it that it will return safe profits in the shape of interest. Especially is this largely the case where monopolized, and through other systems treated of elsewhere in this work. As an example of the increase of interest, one dollar becomes thirty-two at the end of fifty-one years and eighty days, at the rate of seven per cent. annual interest.

Judges and Juries.

The Judiciary Department of the Government of the United States, which provides for the proper security of the people in the enforcement of the laws, is a perpetual safety-valve in the constitutional machinery.

To Congress is confided the making of the laws; to the Judiciary the determining whether they properly apply; and to the President the power to put them into execution. While the judiciary cannot make or execute any laws, they have the right to declare that laws are in-operative, and are of no effect when not made according to the Constitution, and can pronounce a law to be so in form and appearance, but not so in fact and force. This, as the highest tribunal to which appeals can be made, presupposes for the Justices of this, the Supreme Court, the abilities and qualifications which shall enable them to decide the most weighty questions with impartial justice. They occupy a separate and distinct position from all other officers of the Government. In order to give the greatest possible advantages in the execution of the laws, a court of last appeal was thus constructed.

The law of this country, which allows every man accused of crime to be tried by a jury composed of twelve men who are supposed to be of unbiased mind as to the cause in hearing, also provides for counsel if the person on trial be unable to bear the expense of such assistance. The judge before whom the case is heard must instruct

the jury as to the nature of the offense, and upon what grounds guilt may or may not be established. They must determine from the evidence the acquittal or conviction of the person accused. In case where a reasonable doubt arises as to evidence or verdict, what is termed a writ of error may be filed by counsel, and, if proven, appeal can be made to a higher court.

The laws of our country are generally just, and tempered by charity for all. There may be defective laws, but the chief end and aim they most usually have are directed to the public welfare and the control of such men as have not in their hearts a due respect for it. There have been, however, many abuses of the laws both by judges and juries. It may, too, have happened that Congress has allowed the issuance of laws that were oppressive, and directed by partisan following or sectional animosity. But there is difficulty in the enforcement of these laws and of the decisions made by incompetent judges and juries. Packed juries are a stain upon the fair name of the Republic, and an unjust judge is to be despised by all law-abiding people. The excessive bail, also, demanded in some cases, unwarranted by their nature, and excessive fines, are much to be condemned. It also happens that imprisonment is continued longer than is shown, by the character of the offense, to be necessary.

No man can be tried twice for the same offense. This is a wise provision of the Constitution, and is a recommendation to mercy in its broadest and most useful sense. Executive pardon in certain cases that seem to demand it is often extended; and while this principle is often abused, it is oftener directed in absolute justice. The right of States to have control of the violators of their laws is another wise provision, and one which can more effectually punish persons so convicted.

Kickers and Objectors.

A paradox is presented in this subject of persons who are considered both valueless and invaluable. Valueless when considered generally, but invaluable when covetousness and cupidity are on the trail of rights and property, which the just owner needs the most. The croaker and grumbler are of lower station, or generally deal in the minuter things, and, like the objector, unless gifted with judgment and self-control, they offset the good they do, in part at least, by the wounds they make. Fruit and ornamental trees; even beautiful, sprightly children; and the artless, graceful young of the horse and dog, are prone to be useless and disappointing if the pruning-knife, the rod, the bit, and the sharp, unkind word be too much spared. These are not pleasant correctors, either for those who give or those who receive; but the world was evidently built that way. There seems no excellence nor good appetite without labor. Good manners come through training and rebuke; and the crop, to yield, must take the harrowing or the hoe. The very food we eat would be an unpalatable mess if it had not first experienced preparation or the heated range; and the clothing we wear, and admire when new, has received beatings, twistings, and torturings from the very growing of the materials of its fabrication.

Poor human nature seems to have received a multitude of correctors; for, from earthly beginning to ending, it has met rest and peace, only to find their opposites in wait. The infant, "mewling in its nurse's arms"—but oftener on the floor—is ever colicky, hungry, or crying for infantile attentions. The bumps, the switch, the scolds, the mumps, the measles, the chicken-pox, the colds, and the other ills are generally on time. The small boy can't run away to take a swim without stubbing his toe, or sun-burning his back and making it tender for the rod, which often and rightly follows, or else being late at school, with the usual unpleasant penalties. The Scriptures and the world are full of reprimands, menaces, back-sets, and virtual kicks and objections. Though often caused by our inattention to health, through lack of exercise, fresh air, etc., we are often out of sorts; though caused by indiscretion, we are often rebuffed; and though caused by neglect, often continually worsted; and many die without enough laid by for decent burial. We are, doubtless, made with these characteristics to give us fields for cultivation and endeavor, and to make critics, correctors, and grumblers useful, necessary, and busy.

What the orchard, grove or lawn would be without pruning, mulching or care, or the varied crops without continual cultivation, so would human kind be without the storms of strife and opposition, caused by the corrections, cultivations, and restrictions, through the unpleasant efforts of the Kickers and Objectors. They are the salt and spice of the world, and may their shadow never grow less, nor may they never overdo the seasoning. History is full of instances which crown them the champions of all great reforms. There is no higher ambition

than to emulate the work of those who have started the reliefs to worthy laborers against their multiplying oppressors ; suggested to, and worked for, societies to prevent cruelty and injustice, or combated vice, errors, and bad manners in a sensible way.

Grumbling and censure may be necessary beginnings ; but they are nuisances and a loss of breath, without the practical, united, and continual kicking everybody has a right to make, when, in any sense, interested in reforms and freedom from existing wrongs.



LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

All nations are distinguished from one another by their laws and customs, as well as by languages and habits. Upon these foundations are constructed the various governments of the world. Laws and customs, hence, largely determine the stability and strength of government, and command attention in proportion as they have sustained that principle. In the United States the people have greater liberty of speech and action than in any other country. This has afforded the most striking instance in history of a government by the people, as yet not corrupt in either laws or customs. The laws which were made for the control of the American Republic were dictated in the good judgment of its founders, who were moved by a necessity of their condition to apply those principles which should best agree with the employments and habits of the people. The hardy character of these men, about to assume a weighty responsibility, and one, from its relations, presenting many and serious dangers, suggested for the establishment of a Union among the States such things as would partake, in a great measure, of the surest protection against future evils. The laws which have since sprung as important limbs of the national tree have had for their continued growth the strong supports of the man-

ners and customs of the people themselves. How far laws and customs go in determining the force and effect of governments can be seen in this example. A natural law of the universe decrees, from the customs and institutions of men, how far they may be led to a popular government. There can be no more invariable rule than that which places government where, from the nature and dispositions of the people, it may properly belong. For the most weighty reasons, then, the motives for government partake largely of those suggestions which are afforded by the manners and customs of the people, as in these lie the surest methods by which proper laws can be made and executed. Mankind have found in contrary systems of government the leadings to revolution and anarchy. The world has experienced much trouble from improper methods and systems, devised and based upon oppression, which, sooner or later, become the subjects of resistance by the people for whose government they were enacted. The laws which govern society—in other words, social laws or customs of the people—have all of the character and differences of political and sectional influences. Family feuds are among the many evils which need remedies carefully applied in proper influences. The social systems of this country, as among the surest measures embraced in the securities of the hour, should be purged of the misleading and dangerous tendencies they now bear. Revolutionary sentiments are born in the assemblies of socialists, and, like a match applied to combustible materials, kindle the flames which burst out in hate and fury to destroy peace and smother justice.

A satisfied social condition bespeaks a popular form of government. There is no complaint against the laws

of the American Republic that warrants so flagrant an abuse of liberty and its blessings as open sedition **that** incites to anarchy and rebellion. Men must continue to enjoy peace and harmony in family and in council by an obedience to the laws which protect them therein, **and** must not believe that they can long prosper through any other course.



LAND SYNDICATES.

The impulse to wealth, now so marked in this country, is full of the surest methods by which it can be secured. Among these methods, land syndicates present a notable instance. Associations of capitalists who acquire tracts of land, divide them into sections or lots, and put them on the market at seemingly low figures, have acquired the distinction of land syndicates. This system has been remarkably directed to the building up of villages and towns, and to rescuing certain waste lands from an unprofitable condition. Considered in these senses, land syndicates have been promotive of proper ends and principles. In other directions, they have misapplied what should be the natural tendencies of their foundation, and brought them into the relation of monopolies. As monopolies, land syndicates lose their chief value to those who should be most benefited by them. But when did men, actuated solely by selfish purposes, consider the rights and interests of their neighbors in the same light in which they clamor loudly for their own? Very often the lands which in this way come into the possession of men of capital, who realize largely upon them, might be turned to better account by being advantageously settled and worked as farms.

Of the public lands sold about and prior to 1880, besides the enormous land grants, principally to railroads,

and the additional millions of acres sold to home capitalists, there were over 22,000,000 acres sold to foreign individuals and corporations, the Holland Land Company alone buying 4,500,000 acres. Very low prices prevailed.

There are already too many cities, towns, and villages to draw away from the farms sadly needed labor. In those instances, however, where it becomes necessary to build up these suburban villages to afford homes for working people, who cannot pay the high rents of some of our cities, the principle is to be recommended. Particularly have these land syndicates at the South and West been promotive of so-called "booms" in real estate, which forced prices beyond actual values, enriched a few, but crippled the finances and ruined thousands of people.

The highest ambition of the American people does not rest in density of population so much as in the prosperity and growth of the country in all of the means of security against the encouragement and extension of the systems which would endanger the life of the Republic. A reasonable restriction of immigration and foreign ownership at this period of our history could but be beneficial. The large number of people out of work, who would gladly perform it, is not creditable to our national honor and independence. The true philanthropist is he who seeks to better the condition of the people by devising profitable labor for them, and not by the origination and encouragement of schemes which must in the end result only in their misery and poverty. One of the greatest is that of holding unimproved lands until labor makes it sell at a great advance. If such property be so valuable as to hold without use or income, why not tax it at least up to the owner's evident valuation?

Mechanics—Wage-Workers.

The history of the science of mechanics, mechanical labor, and wage-workers dates back too far, and would be too voluminous, to permit of more than a general synopsis. Machinery for some kinds of work, as moving large bodies, was used before historic records were made. It was chiefly confined to machines in which the principles were the lever, inclined plane, wheel and axle, and the pulley. A forcing pump is mentioned as having been used in the third century B. C. "Engines for throwing masses of stone," and water-wheels and "wheels acting upon each other by means of cogs," are also cited by the same historian. The use of steam as a motive power is not well known to have been employed until late in the seventeenth century, and was used for simple purposes only until the year 1768. The famous exclamation of Archimedes of the power of the screw, and all of his other advanced views, give him more prominence, as a correct thinker on the subject of mechanics, than is given any other man. Prior to him, Aristotle seems to have held sway, though his ideas and doctrines have proved mostly fallacious. He defined all motion as circular, and of two classes—natural and violent. His reason for the continued motion of a stone, after being thrown from the hand, was that the successive parts of the air, to which motion was communicated, urge it for-

ward—each part continuing to act after being acted upon etc. Most of his theories are in the form of queries, and curious, indeed, are many of them. He asks why a person, when rising from a chair, bends his legs and body to acute angles with his thighs, and suggests that it is because the right angle is connected with equality and rest. Further, he propounded theories in regard to the lever. The subsequent investigations of Archimedes, concerning the properties of the lever, begin with the axiom that two equal weights balance each other on a lever of equal arms. He uses the mathematical methods then known to prove that equilibrium will always exist in a lever when the bodies supported are inversely proportional to their distances from the fulcrum, and concludes that there must be a centre of force in everybody to correspond to the fulcrum in the lever. Theories and experiments innumerable, through the times of Ubaldo, Varro, Stevinus, Leonardo, Galileo, Huygens, up to the time of Newton, show the depth and vastness of the science. It was seemingly reserved for the latter to combine and develop the true and useful results of all prior mechanical studies of the action of forces on tangible bodies, and to apply them to celestial bodies. In this extension of mechanics he established the theory of universal gravitation. Over two centuries have since elapsed, and, with Newton's work included, there certainly has been made more progress than is now known to have resulted from the labors of men in all the previous ages. More attention, thought, and systematic perseverance than formerly have mainly accomplished these wonders. The exact place the sun, moon, and principal planets will be, each hour for four years in the future, has been predicted by calculations based upon the laws of motion. Forces

and natural conditions have been so controlled and overcome that pulling long trains of heavily-loaded cars from the Atlantic to the Pacific is no longer considered wonderful. We have machines for horizontal transports; for lifting and lowering weights; for projecting solids and fluids, as well as for lifting and propelling them; for uniting, dividing, and shaping bodies; for printing and producing sound, and for thousands of miscellaneous purposes. In fact, an examination of the U. S. Patent Office at Washington impresses the mind that the limit is reached—from the most ponderous and powerful machine imaginable to the most delicate and fragile, doing work far beyond the ability and speed of the human hand to do, or eye to follow.

Notwithstanding all this increase of machinery, which does the work of from five—it may be said to five hundred—times the number of men to one machine, yet the general result throughout the world has been that wages have increased, while cost of living has diminished, with the extension of machinery. As early as 1807 an instance is recorded of the “benefit of tools” at Portsmouth dock-yard, wherein ten men did work which had previously required one hundred and ten; and today the power of a steam engine can hardly be estimated by horse power. As every disease develops remedies, and the majority of poisons have antidotes, the same Creator has furnished a recompense to this displacement. On the principle that much demands more, and one thing another, the demand for manufactured articles, as well as other productions, has increased in proportion to the supply. Wants grow with a satisfaction of them, and the articles of satisfaction become more elaborate and varied, as in clothing, buildings, and vehicles. The

world has learned this, and the days of mill-burning and implement-breaking mobs are past. The advantages of this machinery era are immense, and the thinking, systematic, plucky classes will get, as in every other thing, the lion's share. The mind must move with the muscle, else man is but a weak machine. Machinery, to be of any service, requires human brains not only to conceive it; and to build, manage, and operate it, but to reap results; hence we come to the wage-worker, or artisan, and common laborer. There is an aristocratic classification of "master and servant," but quite generally it comes from a well-nigh obsolete custom. Possibly the proper names to give to the employer and employee would be *employers* and *wage-workers*, though wisely often co-operatively associated. It is absurd to assert that the one is not as necessary to the other as are both to any result, and equally absurd and injurious to claim that the profits and condition of the former should not be better, to a degree, than those of the latter. As there should be grades in society, when established on the basis of morals, manners, and self-worth as incentives to ambition and effort, so there should be a proper advantage in becoming an owner and manager of any industry. The men who now work for wages in this country almost unanimously approve of this condition, and no objection is made to it, save in the degree of it. While this is possibly in their own hands, there are reasons why it is not regulated by them. The fact that the bulk of the employers grew from the ranks of the workers is positive proof that all have the opportunity, through proper efforts, to the extent of their capabilities. This growth, to be general, must be backed by Thought, Good Habits, Study of Business Systems, and Perseverance. The

great channel to improvement and growth is evidently co-operation, properly guarded.

The motives of voluntary labor are profit, self-preservation, love, and public or private duty, but frequently a combination of all; and this would seem to be the acme of a main basis for a good citizen. Involuntary labor, until recently, has been the lot of the greater portion of mankind in every age and country. Not only the natural increase of existing slaves, but captives in wars, criminals, and debtors were, in some countries, bonded, and others were made slaves by wagering their liberties in gambling. The old laws have never shown an interest in laborers, nor have there been until the last century, to any extent, provisions for their protection—protection having ever naturally inclined in the favor of the rich or titled. Oppressive restrictions and penalties for the control of "servants" are of innumerable record. As late as 1867 an act of legislation in England was entitled "The Master and Servant Act," but in eight years the distinction of "Employers and Workmen" was substituted. Her representative to the United States wrote to the Foreign Office at about this date: "There are few countries in which the workingman is held in such regard; every man works or is engaged in some business pursuit." Laborers elsewhere are demanding the rights they deserve; and could the good work go on to a proper and reasonable extent, the faithful might yet see "the dawning of the millennium." Knowing when to stop, and where to draw the line of equality, is more important and valuable than to make a great march or a progressive jump. The good offices of calm, honest arbitration, with the enforcement of the decisions backed by the law of the country, would most surely make the progress, and

stop at right. The exceptions would be so rare the decent charity would cover them. Public opinion would sustain the courts which enforced all decisions of arbitrators freely agreed in, and the charges of money and influence used, or prejudice and jury-packing, would rarely be justifiable. Disputes between "capital and labor," in nearly the whole of Europe, are generally settled by the council, which consists of men selected by the employers and employed—an equal number of each class and the right of appeal has seldom been resorted to. Austria has a special law, and England has made several statutes giving legal effect to the awards of arbitrators when sitting in the way pointed out. While strikes and lock-outs involve no breach of contracts which cannot be settled in the regular courts, yet the bulk of them arise from the failure to agree on contracts for the future, and which courts cannot reach. Arbitration, with umpires in case of equal division, would be the only means surely and hastily to bring about a contract, which would then bring these cases within the jurisdiction of the courts. The open discussions of both sides of these disputes have often brought about settlements in advance of the decisions of the arbitrators. Seeing or hearing both sides of a question is often as salutary to the interested as to a jury. Legislation regulating the employment of young persons, the hours of labor, and for the necessary comforts and conveniences of employes, has been beneficial to them and of no injury to the employers. It should always be borne in mind that government, through legislation, is not intended to regulate trade—and must fail in the attempt—but is intended for the defense of its people. These include the protection of factory women and children against indecency, over-work, and maltreatment

which, in many cases, is known to equal, if not exceed, the worst cases of negro slavery. Mr. Edward Atkinson admits the former fact by saying that our manufactures must continue to exist and increase, should excise laws or the tariff be changed from the forced stress of war times. He also mentions the dangers attending the keeping in mind of sectional and dead issues, as well as the abuse of legislative powers.

In proof of the fact that legislative protection in the business of manufacturing does not benefit the wage-worker, notwithstanding its injury to other laborers, and to demonstrate the fact that it causes a large addition to the cost of living, a table of wages and prices of necessities is herein given. It was compiled by commercial agent, Charles Neuer, in 1887, and the prominent manufacturing city of Gera, in Germany, is selected as a fair representative. (Many other examples are given in the Appendix hereto.) Gera contains more than a hundred large factories, mills, and founderies, besides a considerable number of smaller manufactories, which include almost every branch of manufactures, and are protected by the high German tariff. He says: "The fare of the factory hands consists mainly of black bread and potatoes; they seldom eat any meat, and what coffee they are enabled to get is very common; men's wages are inadequate to even feed their families, and generally the wives and elder children work to help pay the living expenses. Rents there range from 150 to 180 marks, or about \$36 to \$43 per year. Besides the high tariff taxes on all necessities, as well as on tobacco and ardent spirits, there is an annual tax of \$1.70 on incomes of \$100; \$2.85 on \$150," etc. He says that the workmen are slow and not

practical; hold low social positions, and the laboring women have a hard lot in life.

AVERAGE WAGES AT GERA, GERMANY, PER WEEK C
SIX DAYS.

Joiners and Locksmiths, \$3.33 to \$4.28	Founders in iron foundries..... \$3.1
Painters..... 2.57 " 7.14	Tanners and millers 3.8
Masons 4.28 " 4.40	Carpet weavers..... 5.4
Factories:	" " (women)... 2.1
Weavers—men average 5.40	China ware painters..... 4.0
" women " 2.52	Turners..... 4.2
Gluers..... 4.08	" (women) 1.6
Pickers—women 1.92	Horse hair spinners..... 3.9
Winders—women..... 2.20	" " " (women) 1.9
Dyers..... 3.00	Yarn spinners..... 4.2
Apprentices..... 1.68	Overseers 3.8
Shearers..... 3.00	Washers..... 3.2
Finishers..... 6.00	Engineers 4.3
Turners in iron foundries..... 3.84	

The average working hours per day are eleven, excepting those of apprentices and children, which are ten and six respectively, and the latter are prohibited by law from working in factories when under twelve years of age.

COST OF LIVING IN GERA, GERMANY.

White bread—per lb..... .03	Swiss cheese—per lb..... .26
Black " " "02½	Sugar " "09
Common beef " "14½	Potatoes—per 100 lbs..... .72
Mutton " "14½	Cabbages ..... .03½
Veal " "13	Butter ..... .30
Eggs—per doz..... .17	Coffee..... .39

Mr. Neuer commends very highly the technical and industrial schools of Germany, and says the advancement of German commerce accompanies their growth. He speaks officially, and his statements are doubtless reliable. The status of wages and living expenses in France is similar to that of Germany, for they both cling to high protection. One of the chief reasons for this in the latter country is shown to be the great need for large revenues by the Government, and the necessity of a covert manner of collecting them to avoid greater dissatisfaction. The other chief reason was most clearly voiced in the Emperor's speech, a few years ago, to the German Reichstag at its opening. He said: "The object of the Government's commercial policy will be the protection of German industry from the prejudicial effects of one-sided customs regulations in *other countries*." Thus one country will not "trade even" with others, because it cannot be done on similar terms. Jack cannot trade his small dollar knife for Jill's large one of the same cost, though each wants the other's; for Jack demands fifty cents to boot, while Jill wants forty, and neither will fall, so the trade is off. The same would be the case were Jack to have a surplus of meat, and Jill of milk; the surplus of both must waste because they demand different amounts of bonus. These small illustrations, however, do not show the full folly and selfishness of the principle in a national way, or the great injury done to the bulk of the producers and taxpayers. As the world advances in civilization and intelligence, this relic of class, selfish laws will gradually become extinct. Both France and Germany are simply held to it by the two necessities of condition named, and *not*, as their drift has shown, because they consider a

tariff on imports internationally right or beneficial to the masses. As the custom originated gradually, beginning in 710, when the Moors from Africa usurped the right to levy a tariff of duties on all vessels passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, so it will gradually be obliterated. As the word "tariff" had its origin in the name of one of these Moorish robber chiefs—Tarif ibn Malek—so it has done full credit since to him and the barbarian invaders whose chief he was. Other countries are coming to the front in setting back duties on imports. June 23, 1887, the Government of New South Wales returned to what is regarded as a free-trade policy, having since 1852 been near to that principle. And, as a single instance of comparison, in the last ten years she has increased the number of her sheep alone about 15,000,000 head, while in her sister colony Victoria, where high protection prevails, the number of sheep decreased over 1,000,000. Such, of course, would not be the case were wool made a *special target* of reduction in duty, as was recently the case in the United States. Duties must be fairly adjusted, then reduced equally and gradually on all articles.

Wage is best defined as the reward of those who are employed in production with a view to the profit or benefit of their employers in some way, and are paid at stipulated rates. There is a classification of *time* and *task* wages, and when paid in money, the value of the money should be continuously the same, else, as was granted to bondholders, they should be calculated on a gold basis to give labor a *real* price. High prices do not guarantee high wages, and, in fact, an increase of wages to correspond with prices seldom maintains the *real* wages of a lower basis of prices. More capital is required to carry

the same business, and dealers and employers retain in their power the increase of prices, which they are free to raise; also they hold down the scale of wages, to raise which is opposed to their interests. Inflation of currency or money of account, also high protection duties, will raise the nominal prices of wages; but it is delusive, for a carefully computed average will show that *real* wages are lowered—except it be for an occasional job of necessary work, which is generally in the task form. Legislation to affect wages has ever been a failure, for the reason that, like water, labor moves and seeks and finds its level—sometimes destructively. As a labor committee report as to subsidies even in 1834, said: “The severest sufferers are those for whose benefit the system is supposed to be intended—the laborers and their families—and a bad effect is shown in lack of energy and self-reliance.” Laws for the safety, comfort, security of payment, proper ages and hours of operatives have effected much benefit; but all experience has most emphatically shown no benefit in any legislative device in wages. Even when honestly intended to aid the wage-worker, it has done nothing but injure him. A comparison of wages between this country and Europe is a dishonest, deceitful one on account of the different conditions; but to compare one of the old countries with another, taking the same periods, is entirely fair, and is used in the Appendix to this book. ✓

MINES AND MINING.

Among the great material resources and industries of the United States, those of mines and mining deserve conspicuous notice as having largely contributed to national progress and prosperity. The development of the mineral wealth of the country has afforded the most weighty evidences of its power and importance in the eyes of the world. When it is remembered that the products of the American mines of gold and silver represent one-half of the world's supply, it can be seen how greatly national wealth depends upon these considerations. With coal-beds of inexhaustible extent, and iron ore of such abundance as has never been known in any other country, there should exist no other than a positive faith in the great future of these wonderful natural resources. The increase and ready productions of American mines since 1870 prove them much more valuable than those of any other nation. In ten years of this period iron ore increased one hundred and ten per cent. ; copper, sixty per cent. ; coal, sixty-six per cent. ; and petroleum, two thousand per cent. The exports of the United States of domestic coin and bullion for the last quarter of 1888, as per the U. S. Statistical Abstract, were valued at \$19,644,841. The value of the mining interests of this country, calculated by the most competent authorities, is greater than that of Great Britain by three per cent.,

and surpasses that of all of the countries of the European continent, Asia, Africa, South America, Mexico, and the British possessions. The fact remains, too, that as yet the mineral wealth of this country is mainly undeveloped. Vast areas of lands yet unbroken, and, from unmistakable indications, rich in mineral deposits, are yet to be used in this gigantic industry. We will, in a few years, monopolize the wealth of the world; for, leaving out mineral wealth, we should still have enough from other sources to warrant the validity of such an assumption. Our manufactures from 1870 to 1880 increased \$1,137,253,754, against \$230,000,000 of France, \$430,000,000 of Germany, and \$580,000,000 of Great Britain. In 1880 the products of the farming industries of this country were \$2,625,000,000, and the manufactures \$5,369,579,196, and of minerals about \$435,000,000. It may thus readily be seen how great are the possibilities of the American nation. It becomes them to make use of them in the surest ways to the best results. As affording satisfactory employment to needy laborers, and as contributing so greatly thereby to the peaceful and happier condition of the common country, mines and mining are becoming more and more beneficial. The working of the mines with improved machinery and appliances renders them rapidly productive, while their use does not seriously interfere with the wages or number of the laborers employed in them. Certain manual labor will always be indispensable in this branch of industry, and as it becomes more skillful will command better wages. The managers of these great concerns of the people and the nation must more and more consider the responsibilities resting upon them for that intelligent and consistent direction they should take. The motives which sug-

gest the cheapening of labor are of dangerous tendency as bringing into the country such elements of labor that threaten to become revolutionary and subversive of true rights and privileges of our people. Upon thoughtfulness, eternal vigilance, and wise action of voters, must rest the future welfare of the country whose government so singularly provides for the greatest good to the greatest number. When these principles are invaded by unusual greed in wealth accumulation to the disparagement and overtaxing of labor, the country has come to look out for the dangers that must follow in its train.




MONOPOLIES.

[The bringing together of large amounts of capital into a concentrated interest, as is now the ruling ambition of the great capitalists of the country, is one of the greatest evils to be guarded against. One effect of monopolies is to hinder the circulation of money and take from needy laborers the full rewards of service. The wealth of the United States in 1880 was estimated at \$43,642,000,000, greater than the combined wealth of Great Britain by \$276,000,000. From 1860 to 1880 our wealth increased 170 per cent. How much of this vast accumulation of capital is in the hands of monopolies? When it is considered that many millions of dollars are owned by railroad companies, and that one American life insurance company alone possesses, in available assets, considerably over \$100,000,000, to say nothing of other insurance organizations, land syndicates, manufactures, and all other relations, including individual wealth commanding vast capital, it may be surmised how large a proportion of our wealth is merged in monopolies. It may be urged with an appreciable degree of reason that railroad, insurance, and other companies, corporations, and syndicates are necessary; but what is the tendency under them? Is it not to combine together and extort money for the benefit of the few at the loss of the many? One of the strongest bulwarks of our national domain—labor—must not be hampered by such monopolies as have for their end the acquisition of great wealth at the expense of the laboring classes. The examples of monopoly are contagious. It would

seem as if the acquirement of capital by individuals was rather for the object of creating monopolies than for the retirement of its possessors from active business. Individual wealth is greater in the United States already than in any other country, and the people at large more seriously affected by it, because it is used more to their injury—if the landlord systems of some foreign countries be excepted. The free circulation of money should not be hampered by either legislative action, combinations to extinguish competition, or by monopolies. The increase of wealth in this country, which has been shown to be enormous and far beyond the increase in population, should have for its uses a better government of the people, an enlarged view of justice, and the many blessings it should produce. Unless this be the case, the tendency will be to brutalize, and not to elevate. The man who collects a large capital, too, is often directed rather in the channels of luxurious ease than in the more sensible ways of being a benefactor of his kind in its more useful expenditure. The history of all great and powerful nations has terminated from that principle. Herodotus said: "It is a law of nature that faint-hearted men should be the fruit of luxurious countries; for we never find the same soil produce delicacies and heroes."

But men are not easily led away from a mania to gratify their desires at whatever cost. The teacher of reform has a hard road to travel. He must sow continually, but reap nothing. People call him a "crank" and a rider of hobbies. These things, however, should not, and probably will not, turn the good and true citizens of the American Republic from the persistent efforts they are now undertaking for better laws, better institutions, the encouragement and spread of education, and the direction of wealth and power in safer, wider, and wiser channels.



MANAGEMENT.

By management is meant administration, direction, control; in the household, as well as in all manner of business and occupation. Without management, a man becomes of little value to his community or to his country. If he do not manage his business, it will soon pass out of his control; if he do not manage his household, it becomes a wreck, unless turned entirely over to a superior partner. As the ship tossed about by angry waves must be under the control of superior management for its safety, so must be all the affairs with which men have to do. Management is the rudder of control which guides the ship, so must it be the safeguard of men who must wage the battle of life. If the general have no management or control of his troops in battle, he must lose the victory. The surest path to success lies in proper management in any undertaking. It is better to operate on small capital with good management than on millions without it. The good and prudent manager always commands attention, respect, and money. No favors can be extended the imprudent and reckless man, who can have no control of his own affairs or business. He is a stumbling block in the paths of the thrifty, whose labors are in the line of proper management. Management should be more studied and practiced in farm and shop, and in every occupation. It

is usually the case in failures of any kind that bad management is at the back of them. Men should not undertake to make a failure. They should be prepared, through a proper control of the details that enter into all kinds of business, to overcome the difficulties to successful venture. He who would escape disaster must have good control of his situation. A bad manager in anything soon comes to grief. Management also involves saving, for no one can practice the economy necessary without the control and management of his many and multiplying wants and desires. Upon management hangs the key to the door of wealth; but let it get rusty, and it will not open the lock. It must be continually used and renewed, and must find in these its greatest advantage. No one can expect long to prosper if he neglect to cultivate and employ management. It is the key-stone in the magnificent arch of triumph, which is built of industry under its direction. It supports the social fabric, and upholds the principles of good government and union. Those who follow the rule laid down in management make few mistakes. They sow in hope, and reap in gratitude. The faith in good management and good government was the surest hope which resulted in the establishment and growth of our great Union of States, acknowledged by all the world the strongest and mightiest power yet vouchsafed to men in the gifts of a divine Providence.

MONEY=MASKS.

The money acquired from labor in honest ways is a precious return for the sacrifices and sufferings therein incurred; but when the good and true men who thus secure it have it filched from them by dishonest means and a flattering robbery, they must unite in exposing and opposing them.

"Money-Masks" are the designs constructed by unscrupulous people, who thrive upon the hard earnings of needy laborers. Of such are the swindlers who prey upon farmers. Too lazy to work in any honest manner, they apply their thoughts to the manufacture of schemes, with honest seeming in them. Under the mask of showing a favor by a well-considered presentation of apparent plausibility they capture the unguarded objects of their villainy. All prudent farmers are on their guard against these sharks and sharpers; but, alas! there are many who are almost daily subjects of their wily tricks. New patent machinery thieves, peddlers of seeds, sharp horse traders, nursery agents, tricky buyers, *et al.*, flock around the peaceful homes of the farmers, and take advantage of and eat up their substance by unloosing their purse strings through sympathy, specious arguments, worthless wares, and deceptive allurements. The masks which they wear are well-nigh impenetrable to unsuspecting eyes. The low prices at which these thieves

often offer their goods should be warning enough, but it is not. There is no greater deception than that entertained by some people of getting something for nothing, or that prices are not fixed according to actual cost, or very near to it. When goods are offered for sale at prices too far below the market, or when unreasonable inducements are offered to purchase, there is something wrong. There is something behind all these things ultimately. The man who is too eager to take a note should be watched. It is unusual. People generally prefer cash unless they are brokers or bankers, and looking for interest, as in the nature of their business. How many poor farmers have been robbed in this way will best appear from the daily records of our newspapers. They have thus been continually warned, but they do not hearken to the voice that would save them from these designing scoundrels. When a man offers another something for a ridiculously low price, and thus gets his signature to a note or contract, he had better prepare to "pay dearly for his whistle." At the maturity of his note it comes back into his possession, after he has paid many times the amount he has signed for. He sees the result of his folly then, but it is too late: he must pay it. The rule never to sign anything before reading it carefully is a good one, but even that is not proof against these robbers of honest men's money. They do not scruple to manipulate even the figures of these notes: they get the signatures to them, and then alter them to suit themselves. Of course, to prove them forgers would lead to their conviction; but to make a bird pie, you must first catch your bird. They fly from danger as quickly as steam can carry them, and show up in some unsuspecting locality. Every man, not alone the farmer, is

subject to the daring schemes of these thieves, who wear masks for the getting of money that are far too often the successful expedients for securing it. This is an evil that should, by all means, be uprooted, and all good and honest citizens should unite for its effectual suppression.

In exposing these ever new schemes alone, farmers would yearly save double their dues required in a Farmers' Exchange.



Naturalization—What It Implies.

The people of foreign birth, to become citizens of the United States, must take out what are called "naturalization papers." The Constitution of the United States makes no other provision relative to naturalization than the power therein given to Congress "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization." But the framers of the Constitution could not, from the nature of the influences then existing, know how vast a tide of emigrants would pour into the country. Through the process of naturalization, a person of foreign birth becomes in fact and indeed a citizen of the United States, with no restrictions on account of his foreign birth, except that he cannot become President or Vice-President of the United States. The laws regarding naturalization, which have from time to time been enacted by Congress, provide that an alien or person of foreign birth may become a naturalized citizen, if he has declared, by oath or affirmation made before the Supreme, Superior, District, or Circuit Court of some State in which he has resided (and where he proposes still to reside) at least two years before the issuance of the necessary papers, that it was then his intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States, renouncing all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign power, prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, and giving the name of the foreign power, prince, potentate,

state, or sovereignty of which he be, at the time of making the oath or affirmation, a subject or citizen. He cannot, when making application to become a naturalized citizen, become so if it appears that he has ever borne any hereditary title or been of any order of nobility, unless he agrees to renounce this objection. He must agree to support the Constitution of the United States, renouncing and abjuring forever all allegiance to any other country. He must also have resided in this country at least five years, and at least one year in the State or Territory where the court to which he applies is then sitting, and have conducted himself as a man of good moral character, attached to the prosperity of the Constitution of the United States, and disposed to the good order and consequent happiness of the Republic. This latter requisition must be made upon other evidence than his own oath or affirmation, and must be proven to the satisfaction of the court to which he applies. A person of foreign birth, and who is a minor in the sense of the laws of the United States, who has resided in the United States three years next preceding his arrival at the age of twenty-one years, and who has continued therein to reside to the time of making the application, may, after he becomes of the age of twenty-one years, and has resided in the United States five years, including the years of his minority, become a citizen without making the declaration provided for under the conditions above set forth. At the time of his admission to citizenship, however, he must make the same oath or affirmation as he would have been required to make under the conditions detailed. A man of foreign birth, engaged as a sailor for three years in an American vessel, or a man of foreign birth who has served as a sol-

dier in the regular or volunteer service of the United States, and been therefrom honorably discharged, after a residence of one year in the United States, and who is shown to be a person of good character, may become a citizen of the United States by taking the oath prescribed in the detail of conditions herein before specified. Every court of record in any State having common law jurisdiction and a seal and clerk, or prothonotary, is a District Court implied in the meaning of the naturalization laws.

It can thus readily be seen what naturalization implies, and how far the system may be abused by the over-plus of immigrants which have come and are still coming to find profitable labor and homes in our country. Ten millions of people from foreign countries are estimated to have come to this country in the space of ninety years. And they are still coming in largely increased ratio. In 1882 immigrants were received to the number of about 800,000, and it has been calculated upon reliable authorities that by the year 1900 more than 19,000,000 persons born in foreign lands will have become citizens of the United States. Our advantages of soil, climate, freedom, and all other conditions, including the right of suffrage after a few years residence, are very attractive, and are bringing large numbers to our shores. What will be the results of such wholesale immigration as is now existing will largely depend upon wise and prudent legislation and an effective system of restriction, by requiring reasonable qualifications.

National Defense.

A country with ocean boundaries, themselves providing defense, scarcely needs a standing army or a naval force of any large number. This is the condition to-day of the United States. It has been proven by the late civil war how rapidly volunteer soldiers can be brought together in armies or navies in this country. A million of men could be put in the field, if need be, inside of a month, and a navy of effective armament be ready for service in a very brief time. The volunteer soldiery of America has shown how much superior it is to the regular army. Besides, the time is rapidly approaching when nations will no longer wage war, but settle their differences more in accord with civilized motives and reasons.

The subject of national defense, as regards military protection in the United States, does not admit of the extended treatment given the many more important considerations touched upon in this work.

At the close of the civil war the volunteer army of the United States, numbering near 1,100,000 men, was quietly and quickly disbanded, and the regular army, which during the war had been augmented by over 50,000 men, has been reduced from time to time to its present standard of something like 30,000, who are principally engaged in garrison duty in the several forts and arsenals

of the country, in protecting the highways across the continent, and in keeping in order the Indian tribes of the far West. This is a small standing army as compared with that of almost any foreign power. Great Britain supports a standing army on a peace-footing of 133,720, and on a war-footing, of 370,561; the standing army on a peace-footing in France numbers 470,600, and on a war-footing, 1,750,000; and in Russia, on a peace-footing, 787,000, and on a war-footing, 1,671,674. That of the United States in an emergency has been estimated at considerably over 3,000,000 men. What are far more important than the army and navy to preserve our national integrity and independence are a more consistent and equable system of taxation than that now in force, and a less rapid running to monopolies and trusts of American capital.



ORGANIZATIONS.

Protective organizations against the usurpations of capitalists are older than our country. Coming from the districts of the old world, particularly England, where labor organizations existed, the working people of the early American colonies brought with them the ideas and principles which have culminated in the labor movements of to-day. The Order of the Knights of Labor, into which a large majority of the trades unions have since been merged, had its origin at Philadelphia. Growing out of the establishment of an association of the garment-cutters of Philadelphia in 1862 or 1863, which had a series of dangers and difficulties to surmount, a dissolution was carried December 9, 1869, and its fund of \$89.79 divided among the members.

The project of a secret society from that time secured approval, although fraught with constant peril to the members, their employers being cognizant of every move and every plan of organization. This had for result a small attendance at the meetings and a difficulty of obtaining suitable persons for committee work. November 25, 1869, a committee was appointed to frame a method of reorganization, who made a partial report at a meeting on December 9th, following. After considerable discussion for and against a secret society, a motion to dissolve was carried. This was followed closely by the agreement

of the advocates of a secret society upon a plan of organization, to be formulated by a committee of seven. After several meetings, the "Ritual Committee" submitted a partial report, and the obligation was signed creating the new organization, which was styled "Knights of Labor." Thus was founded the nucleus of what has since grown into a giant, into whose stalwart limbs have been infused the remarkable power to be vested in the future destiny of our mighty Republic. The election of officers took place January 13, 1870. Additional officers were elected at the subsequent meetings of January 27th and February 3d, following. The garment-cutters, who had in the beginning dissented from the Knights of Labor, maintained their organization for four years, when it became a local assembly of the Knights of Labor, and it is so characterized at present. The membership of the Knights of Labor steadily increased, and the first annual report, January 5, 1871, showed sixty-nine members in good standing. In an address delivered by Master Workman Stephens at the meeting January 12, 1871, he said :

"And while the toiler is thus engaged in creating the world's value, how fares his own interest and well-being? We answer, badly; for he has too little time, and his faculties become too blunted by unremitting labor to analyze his condition, or devise and perfect financial schemes, or reformatory measures. The hours of labor are too long, and should be shortened. I recommend a universal movement to cease work at five o'clock Saturday afternoon, as a beginning. There should be a greater participation in the profits of labor by the industrious and intelligent laborer. In the present arrangement of labor and capital, the condition of the employe is simply that of wage-slavery—capital dictating, labor submitting; capital su-

perior, and labor inferior. This is an artificial and man-created condition, not God's arrangement and order; for it degrades man and ennobles mere pelf. It demeans those who live by useful labor, and, in proportion, exalts all those who eschew labor, and live (no matter by what pretense or respectable cheat—for cheat it is) without productive work. Living by and on the labor of others is dishonest, and should be branded as such. Labor and capital should treat each other as equals. Let us hint to the world, in broad and unmistakable terms, our demands. Where lies the fault that this condition exists? Mainly with ourselves. Disjointed and inharmonious, no concerted action, not even much mutual respect. Prone to defer to wealth, to respect pretension, and bow to assumption, instead of boldly stripping it of its mask and exposing its hideousness. What is the remedy? Cultivate friendship among the great brotherhood of toil; learn to respect industry in the person of every intelligent worker; unmake the shams of life by deference to the humble but useful craftsman; beget concert of action by conciliation; confidence by just and upright conduct toward each other; mutual respect by dignified deportment; and wise counsels by what of wisdom and ability God, in His wisdom and goodness, has endowed us with. Let us be aroused. Labor's interests have suffered long enough, because the interested ones neglected to take care of them; unwise counsels have too long prevailed; suspicion and distrust have too long kept us apart. Let us reason together, and let our reasonings bear the fruit of our action. Knighthood must base its claims for labor upon higher grounds than participation in the profits, emoluments, and a lessening of the hours of toil and fatigues of labor. These are only physical

effects and objects of a grosser nature, and, although *imperative*, are but stepping-stones to a higher cause, a nobler nature. The real and ultimate reasons must be based upon the more exalted and divine nature of man—his high and noble capabilities for good. Excess of labor and small pay stunts, and blunts, and degrades those God-like faculties, until the image of God, in which he is created and intended by his great Creator to exhibit, is scarcely discernible, and ignorance boldly asserts that it does not exist. Time will not permit us to reason out the details, or enforce them by argument, but we must leave their development to your own thought and investigation. To God and your own best judgment I leave the cause. Prophecy and inspiration assert the ultimate triumph of the principle."

What appropriate language for our farmers !

The first work directed to interesting outside organizations was begun in March, 1871, by correspondence with the coal-miners and nail-cutters of Pennsylvania. In 1872 the ship-carpenters and calkers of the Delaware founded the "first local assembly," outside of "Assembly No. 1." "Assembly No. 1" had previously enrolled some plumbers, paper-hangers, and painters. As many as twenty local assemblies were organized in Philadelphia in 1872, as follows: No. 3, Shawl-weavers; No. 4, Carpet-weavers; No. 5, Riggers; No. 6, Carpet-weavers; No. 7, Stone-masons; No. 8, Bag-makers; No. 9, Machinists and Blacksmiths; No. 10, Stone-cutters; No. 11, Wool-sorters; No. 12, Machinists and Blacksmiths; No. 13, Tin-plate and Sheet-iron Workers; No. 14, Steel-makers; No. 15, Pattern-makers and Moulders; No. 16, Shopsmiths; No. 17, Machinists, Blacksmiths, and Boiler-makers; No. 18, House-carpenters, Ship-joiners, Millwrights, and Cabinet-

makers; No. 19, Bricklayers; No. 20, Gold-beaters. The first local assembly to be organized outside of Philadelphia was No. 28, represented by the Gold-beaters of New York City, and the second, No. 30, represented by the Ship-carpenters and Calkers of Wilmington, Delaware. The third, No. 31, of similar organization, was at Camden, N. J. The latter is now, however, incorporated as a "shoemakers' assembly." Orders now grew so rapidly that "district assemblies" were instituted, dating from December 25, 1873, when the first "district assembly" was organized. January 1, 1878, a General Assembly of the Order was instituted at Reading, Penn., "with a constitution and three salaried officers." Of the delegates to the First General Assembly was T. V. Powderly, a representative of District Assembly 5, of Scranton, Penn. Seven States were represented by the following trades: Garment-cutters, Miners, Shoemakers, Machinists, Locomotive Engineers, Stationary Engineers, Glass-workers, Moulders, Printers, Coopers, Blacksmiths, Boiler-makers, Nail-packers, Teachers, and Carpenters. The Declaration of Principles, announced and confirmed at this convention, represented fifteen blanks, "which are the first fifteen in the present Declaration of Principles." Constitutions for the General Assembly, District Assemblies, and Local Assemblies were declared and adopted. A special session of the General Assembly convened at Philadelphia June 6, 1878, and a subsequent session was held at St. Louis January 14-17, 1879, at which were present delegates from thirteen States. The Order had now embraced the Southern States, and extended as far west as California. The third regular session of the General Assembly was at Chicago for five days from September 2, 1879. Up to this period 700 local assemblies had been organized, although

but 102 had been presented. About 5,000 members were announced as in "good standing," but it is safe to say the membership was much greater. Mr. T. V. Powderly was at this convention elected Grand Master Workman. The fourth session of the General Assembly was held at Pittsburgh, Penn., September 7-11, 1880, at which forty delegates were present; and the fifth session at Detroit, Mich., March 6-10, 1881. The succeeding session was held at New York City September 5-12, 1882. The seventh session of the General Assembly was held at Cincinnati from September 4, 1883, for eight days. The eighth session was held for eleven days from September 1, 1884, at Philadelphia. The increase of the Order was now rapid. A Knights of Labor trade-mark was adopted in 1884, but, by reason of the impossibility of naming the kind of goods to be protected by it, it could not be registered. The ninth regular session was held for eight days from October 5, 1885, at Hamilton, Ont. At this convention Mr. George E. McNeill was designated by Mr. Powderly to "represent the Order at Washington." A special session of the General Assembly was held at Cleveland, Ohio, from May 25 to June 3, 1886. The relation of the Order to trades unions was long and laboriously discussed, and a circular address to trades unions resolved upon.

The Knights of Labor have continued to demand the gravest attention as among the stronger political elements of the future. The Declaration of Principles of the Knights of Labor, as adopted at the first session of the General Assembly in 1878, and as defined by George E. McNeill in his work, "The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-day," is in substance as follows: "Civilization is but another name for progress in the direction

of the better distribution of the material comforts and mental and moral opportunities of mankind. Whatever tends to assist in the equitable adjustment of the relations of laborers and capitalists tends to the public good." This is held to be the "embodiment of the measures formulated by experience and observation of the organized labor movement from 1825 to the present time." This preamble demands, not the division of past accumulations, however unjustly accumulated, but rather that measures be provided for the distribution of products and opportunities in the future, by and through the wage system, until the moral and social wisdom and the increased wealth of the masses shall ultimate in co-operation. An examination of the preamble in detail shows a desire to check unjust accumulation and the power for evil of aggregated wealth by perfectly legitimate means. Building up from a firm foundation of the moral worth of the individual, it enlarges gradually and symmetrically, first in the direction of material wants—better wages or a more equitable share of the wealth created; then reaching out toward the intellectual and social opportunities which come from less hours of employment for gain, and more time for the employment of their faculties for the greater gain of their moral and mental growth. It cannot be gainsaid that as material wealth increases the share of each should increase, and that the tendency toward the aggregation of wealth into the hands of those whose faculties of absorption have been unduly stimulated, furnishes a power to the few, which makes the possessor a dangerous factor to society.

This preamble says that "The alarming development and aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization

and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses. The demand of the Knights is, then, that this development shall be checked, not only because of the danger to our institutions from the power of these great monopolists and monopolies, but because of the pauperization and degradation of the workers in consequence thereof. The method of checking and remedying this evil is, first, the organization of all laborers into one great solidarity, and the direction of their united efforts toward the measures that shall, by peaceful processes, evolve the working classes out of their present condition in the wage system into a co-operative system. This organization does not profess to be a political party, nor does it propose to organize a political party; but, nevertheless, it proposes to exercise the right of suffrage in the direction of obtaining such legislation as shall assist in the natural law of development. It is true that the demands are revolutionary, as it is the purpose of the Order to establish a new and true standard of individual and national greatness."

Various abuses of capital, as tending to deprive labor of its just rewards as mentioned in the Declaration of Principles of the Knights of Labor, are treated of; but enough is here given to show the true aims and purposes sought by their constitution. There are various other organizations, or trade unions, all of which are founded upon these broad principles. The typographical union, the various trade organizations, the textile trades unions, the coal miners' unions, the iron workers' unions, the locomotive and stationary engineers' organizations, the building trades, miscellaneous trades, etc., are all guided by the fundamental laws which provide for relief from the oppressive exactions of capital, capitalists,

monopoly, and monopolists. The growth and influences of these organizations are being sensibly exerted, and can but have the beneficial effects sought for.

GRANGES, ALLIANCES, AND LATER ORGANIZATIONS.

The first and one of the most important steps taken by the farmers of the United States for security against oppressive systems was in the foundation of the "Order of Patrons of Husbandry." This remarkable movement, familiarly known as the "Grange" system, had its origin in the natural opposition of the farming communities to monopolies. The principles of the Grange movement in the United States, as set forth in the "Declaration of Purposes of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry," adopted at the annual session of the National Grange at St. Louis, Mo., February 11, 1874, were in substance as follows: That being naturally "united by the strong and faithful tie of agriculture," they mutually resolved to labor for the good of their Order, their country, and mankind, endorsing the motto, "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity;" and endeavoring to advance their cause by laboring to secure "a better and higher manhood and womanhood" among themselves. They proposed to do this by enhancing "the comforts and attractions of their homes, and strengthening their attachments to their pursuits; by fostering mutual understanding and co-operation; by maintaining inviolate their laws, and by emulating each other in labor; by hastening the good time coming; by reducing their expenses, both individual and corporate; by buying less and producing more, in order to make their farms self-sustaining." They reasoned that by diversifying

their crops, and cropping no more than they could cultivate, they would secure this. "By condensing the weight of their exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleece; by systematizing their work, and calculating intelligently on probabilities; by discountenancing the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy," they aimed to derive the greatest benefits compatible with human institutions. They favored "meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require." For business advantages and harmony, they proposed to establish the most friendly relations possible between "producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers," and to "avoid any aggressive warfare against any other interests whatever." They also proposed to promote the cause of education among themselves and their families by all just means within their power, and by suggesting to agricultural and industrial colleges to teach "practical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home." They denied that the Order had, or was destined to have, any political or religious significance in its foundation and principles, and contended that the ruling motives for its establishment were of no other kind than those embraced in its "Declaration of Purposes." The Order of Patrons of Husbandry was organized in 1867, and by 1873 had begun to acquire the strength and encouragement since so avowedly recognized. Its influence has been, and will continue to be, felt and appreciated throughout the country, and may, by its proper direction and support, accomplish perma-

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nent good. Since the organization of the "Grange" system, or "Patrons of Husbandry," various farmers' alliances have been established in several States, and the "National Farmers' Alliance" and "National Agricultural Wheel" have assumed an identity and operation consistent with the aims of their conception and establishment. These alliances are estimated to have a membership of thousands of farmers. One sentiment actuates them all, as expressed by Mr. Milton George, secretary of the National Farmers' Alliance, in his report to the seventh annual meeting of that association—"the establishment of a universal state of justice between man and man, and class and class." Among the State organizations, the "Dakota Farmers' Alliance," which is a new stock company, with a board of eleven directors, a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, deserves especial mention by reason of its business during the past year. Mr. J. L. Carlisle, its secretary and treasurer, reports transactions, principally on binding twine and farm machinery, of nearly \$100,000. A large building has been erected at Aberdeen "for promoting and expediting transfers of goods to agencies over the two Dakotas, in order to supply the farmers" of those sections. The object of this organization is to furnish these goods at a reduced price in the future, compared with that of the past. There are now fifty-six agencies in different parts of North and South Dakota which have given bonds for large sums in order to insure safety in the transaction of a large amount of business.*

The farmers' alliances of Nebraska, Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois compose the "National Farmers' Alliance," which declares its objects to be as follows:

* From a letter from the secretary.

"The objects of the National Alliance are to unite the farmers for the promotion of their interests socially, politically, and financially.

"To secure a just representation of the agricultural interests of the country in the National Congress and State legislatures.

"To demand the prohibition of alien cattle and land syndicates.

"To oppose all forms of monopoly, as being detrimental to the best interests of the public.


"To demand of our representatives in Congress their votes and active influence in favor of the prompt passage of such laws as will protect live stock interests from contagious diseases.

"To demand that agricultural interests shall be represented by a cabinet officer."*

Some of these alliances, notably the "Alliance Aid Association" and the "Alliance Hail Association," both of Dakota, are in the nature of insurance companies, and furnish protection at small cost to their members in case of loss by hail, fire, and death. The foregoing illustrations of these valuable auxiliaries to farmers and wage-workers generally, as combinations against the onerous burdens of capitalists, monopolies, and trusts, incontestably represent how determined are becoming the efforts of these labor organizations and farmers' alliances to resist oppression. If properly and judiciously directed and managed, all of these unions and associations must achieve the highest and most salutary results. The labor interests are in the good hands of the Knights of Labor, and the concerns of the farmers measurably protected by granges, farmers' alliances, and similar associations. The farmers, how-

* Created in 1888.

ever, would seem to need something more, and Farmers' Exchanges demand serious attention as paving the way for the collection and record, for the benefit of their members, of "statistics of the supply and demand of all soil productions, both of stock and produce, and all other information possible relating thereto, of interest to all producers; to facilitate the sale, exchange, and transportation of such productions; to promote equitable principles, and to adjust differences and disputes among members; to secure uniformity in taxation, legislation, and prices; to establish a reliable system of references, or other beneficial system in the employment of laborers, and to engender and increase mutual business interests and information among its members." Such an exchange should be properly officered, and have a competent board of directors, who "shall control and manage the business affairs of the organization, enforce the rules and regulations, and appoint such committees as they shall consider necessary and healthful for its vitality and good government." It will do as much benefit in a community indirectly as directly, making, as it will, a resort place of benefit in lieu of those degrading. It will also tend to remove prejudice, narrowness, and partisanship by association of now opposites who should be united—being of the same interest. Farmers will by these means ascertain sooner the laws which are grinding and bleeding them both ways, and thus unite them to take possession of the great party, which can be *used* to remove these plain causes. They will learn, as business men have, to vote for *interests* instead of *sentimentality*. This is become necessary. An original formula of such an exchange is presented in the following :



CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
FARMERS' EXCHANGE.

AT

ARTICLE I.

Name.

SECTION 1. The name of this Association shall be the Farmers' Exchange.

ARTICLE II.

Place of Business.

SECTION 1. The place of business of this Association shall be at——

ARTICLE III.

Purpose.

SECTION 1. The purposes of this Association are to collect and record, for the benefit of its members, statistics of the supply and demand of all soil productions, both of stock and produce, and all other information possible relating thereto, of interest to all producers in this district; to facilitate the sale, exchange, and transportation of such productions; to promote equitable principles, and to adjust differences and disputes among its members; to secure uniformity in taxation, legislation, and prices; to establish a reliable system of references, or other systems in the employment of laborers; and to engender and increase mutual business interests and information among its members.

ARTICLE IV.

Membership.

SECTION 1. This Association shall be composed only of persons engaged in the industries of the farm, which means stock-breeding, raising, and farm producing; but its trading floor shall be open to all buyers.

ARTICLE V.

Fees and Dues.

SECTION 1. The membership fee shall be one dollar for each individual, firm, or corporation; and the annual dues shall be fifty cents per month each, payable during each current month. Each membership carries with it but one representative or vote. Each member shall subscribe to the list of membership, which shall be an agreement to abide by all the by-laws and rules.

ARTICLE VI.

Officers.

SECTION 1. This Association shall have a Board of five Directors, who shall select from their number a President and a Vice-President for the Association.

Election, How.

SEC. 2. The Board of Directors shall be elected by a ballot vote of the members present, on the second Monday of April of each year, at 11 o'clock A.M., in the rooms of the Association, and to serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified, and vacancies shall be filled by the Board itself.

An original Board may be elected to serve to above date by a *viva voce* vote.

ARTICLE VII.

Records.

SECTION 1. A record of the votes of each member shall be made as their ballots are deposited, and a majority of the votes cast shall determine the choice.

Election of Officers.

SEC. 2. On the Saturday after the second Monday of April of each year the Directors shall meet, and by a polled vote, by a chairman to be temporarily elected, the officers herein before mentioned shall be voted for out of their number, and the majority of the votes cast shall constitute a choice. No proxies shall be voted. Original officers may be elected by a *viva voce* vote to serve to the above date.

ARTICLE VIII.

Powers of Directors.

SECTION 1. The Board of Directors shall control and manage the business affairs of this organization, and enforce such

rules and regulations, and appoint such committees as they consider necessary and healthful for the good government and vitality of it.

ARTICLE IX.

Amending.

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting at any regular meeting of the Association. Provided, that the proposed amendment or alteration shall have been approved by a majority vote of the whole Board of Directors, and shall have been posted in the rooms of the Association at least ten days prior to the action thereon.

BY-LAWS.

RULE I.

President.

SECTION 1. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Directors, and shall call such special meetings of the Association as he or the Board of Directors may deem expedient, or as shall be requested in writing by at least five members of the Association. He shall sign all warrants on the Treasurer for the disbursements of the funds of the Association.

SEC. 2. In the absence of the President, a Vice-President shall perform his duties in order of seniority; and in the absence of the President and the Vice-President, the Association may elect a President *pro tem*.

RULE II.

Secretary.

SECTION 1. The Secretary shall attend and accurately record the proceedings of all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Directors. He shall conduct the official correspondence of the Association, and carry into execution all orders, votes, and resolves not otherwise committed; he shall collect all dues, assessments, and other moneys accruing to the Association, and pay the same to the Treasurer, taking his receipts therefor; shall keep ledger accounts with each member of the Association, and of the receipts, expenditures, properly classified; shall countersign all warrants on the Treasurer for the disbursement of the

funds of the Association ; shall give proper notice of all meetings of the Association and Board of Directors, and to all officers of their election and committees of their appointment; shall superintend the rooms of the Association ; shall prepare and submit, at the annual meeting of the Association, a review of the transactions of the Association during the year, together with such comments and statistical showings as may, in his opinion, tend to encourage and advance the industrial and commercial interests of the farm and stockman, and perform such other duties as the Association and Board of Directors may prescribe. Also, the Secretary shall be elected by the Board of Directors—a majority of the entire Board being necessary to a choice—and shall receive such compensation for his services as the said Board may stipulate. He shall give bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as the Directors may require, and shall be subject to removal at any time for dereliction of duty or improper conduct. He shall confer no special favors nor receive a fee, direct or indirect, from any person, except a fixed salary from the Association.

Any violation of this Section shall be punished by expulsion by the Board of Directors, as they may prescribe.

RULE III.

Treasurer.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall be elected by the Board of Directors—a majority of the entire Board being necessary to a choice—and must be a member of the Association. He shall receive and take charge of all moneys accruing to the Association, and shall pay them out on warrants drawn by the President, and countersigned by the Secretary. He shall keep a regular account of moneys received and expended by him, and shall make an annual report thereof, and such other reports as the Board of Directors may require.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall give bonds for the faithful performance of his duties, satisfactory to the Board of Directors, and in such amount as they may stipulate.

RULE IV.

Directors.

SECTION 1. The Board of Directors shall, in accordance with the power vested by the Constitution of the Association, have general control of its affairs. They shall meet in regular session

on the second Monday of each month, at such hour as they may determine, and three of their number shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and special meetings may be called as frequently as the President or Secretary may deem necessary.

SEC. 2. They shall, at their regular meeting in March, appoint three judges, under whose direction the annual election of the Association shall be held. These judges shall inspect the ballots cast, and report the result of the election at the annual meeting of the Association.

SEC. 3. They shall have power to examine charges of misconduct in business preferred against any member, or officer, or employe of the Association when made to the President or Secretary in writing by a member of the Association; and if the party charged shall be found guilty of any act contrary to the spirit which should govern all commercial transactions, or inconsistent with his duty as a member of the Association, the Board of Officers shall report the same to the Association at a meeting called for the purpose, with such recommendations as they may desire to submit, and the Association shall have power to reprimand, suspend, or expel such member.

SEC. 4. No counsel, other than active members of the Association, shall be permitted to appear in behalf of any member who may be arraigned under the provisions of the foregoing section. And no member shall be so arraigned unless, by a ye and nay vote, a majority of the Board of Directors decide the alleged cause for such arraignment to be within their jurisdiction.

SEC. 5. Upon the expulsion or suspension of a member, notice thereof shall be given him in writing by the Secretary.

SEC. 6. No member who may have been expelled shall be eligible to re-election until the Association shall, on recommendation of the Board of Directors, determine to remove his disability.

SEC. 7. The Board of Directors shall, as soon as practicable after the annual meeting of the Association, appoint the Standing Committees, as hereinafter provided, and they may, from time to time, appoint Special Committees, and create and appoint additional Standing Committees to perform such services as will, in their opinion, best subserve the interests and facilitate the operations of the Association.

SEC. 8. They shall, at their regular meeting in March, ap-

point a committee of three, outside of their number, whose duty it shall be to carefully examine the financial accounts of the Association, as kept by the Secretary and Treasurer, and said committee shall report the result of such examination, with such comments and suggestions as they may desire to submit, to the Association at its annual meeting.

SEC. 9. At each annual meeting of the Association the Board of Directors shall, through the President, submit such reports and suggestions as they may consider desirable.

SEC. 10. The following shall be the order of business at the regular meetings of the Board of Directors:

- 1.—Roll Call.
- 2.—Reading of Minutes.
- 3.—Reading of Communications.
- 4.—Reports of Committees.
- 5.—Unfinished Business.
- 6.—Election of Members.
- 7.—New business.

RULE V.

Meetings of the Association.

SECTION 1. The Association shall meet in annual session on the second Monday in April. The hour of meeting shall be designated by the Board of Directors, and the following shall be the order in which the business of the meeting shall be conducted, viz.:

First—Reading of the Minutes.

Second—Submission of the annual reports in the following order: 1, Directors; 2, Secretary; 3, Treasurer; 4, Standing Committees; 5, Special Committees.

Third—Unfinished Business.

Fourth—Miscellaneous Business.

Fifth—Announcement of the result of the annual election of the Association.

SEC. 2. Regular meetings of the Association shall be held on Saturday of each month, at such hour as the Board of Directors may stipulate, at which the following order of business shall be observed:

First—Reading of the Minutes.

Second—Reports of Officers and Committees.

Third—Unfinished Business.

Fourth—Miscellaneous Business.

SEC. 3. Special meetings of the Association shall be held as hereinbefore specified, but the object of special meetings must be explicitly stated in the call therefor, and in the notice thereof to members; and it shall not be competent to entertain, nor act upon, at any special meeting, any business other than that for which the meeting shall have been called, unless by unanimous consent of the members present.

SEC. 4. It shall be competent for the members of the Association to meet daily in the rooms of the Board, and at any meeting so held, a quorum being present, the President, or in his absence a Vice-President, may call the meeting to order, to consider any business which may be submitted; and action thereon may be had in accordance with the rules governing the proceedings of the Association.

SEC. 5. Seventeen members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business by the Association.

RULE VI.

SECTION 1. All reports intended for publication to be approved by the Board of Directors.

RULE VII.

SECTION 1. No individual, firm, or company shall be entitled to participate in the proceedings of the Association who may be in arrears for membership dues for thirty days.

RULE VIII.

SECTION 1. Any one endorsed by a member of the Board of Directors, by paying his initiation fee, giving name, occupation, and postoffice address, shall be a member of the Exchange.

RULE IX.

SECTION 1. When sale of property left with Secretary is effected, such sale or withdrawal must be reported to Secretary at once.

RULE X.

SECTION 1. Members making entries with Secretary will be required to do so in writing, giving name and postoffice address, and an accurate but brief description of the entry made.

RULE XI.


SECTION 1. Initiation fee shall be one dollar per member. The member advertising goods shall pay one-quarter of one per cent. on all real estate, stock, and articles entered on the books of

this Association for sale, said per cent. to be assessed on the amount said property actually brings.

It is provided, however, that on any article thus advertised and sold the Secretary shall collect not less than twenty-five cents.

The member thus entering his property shall say to the Secretary for what length of time he wants the property to remain on the books; and if withdrawn before the expiration of said time, he shall be required to pay the same per cent. as if sold.

Should other farmers' organizations become general, successful, and lasting, or should they become the reverse and be obliterated, the simple Exchange can be made at all times, and in any farming community, a genuine benefit and success, and a permanent center for mutual interests. The scope and rules can be changed to suit localities. Meetings can be held weekly or daily, as its members find profitable, and one of their number can be the secretary, or they can employ a permanent one to accord with their public spirit or income. That an Exchange is no experiment, novelty, or risk, is in every way substantiated by the great number, increase, and success of them in every branch of business except in farming. The very class of people who most need bringing together for information, trade, and markets, and to agree on matters of their general interests, both public and private, is the only class who have no such place of meeting. They are the most scattered, most in need of system and advancement; they have the least understanding as to the amount of their productions, kinds needed and most profitable, and least information for successful exchanges or trades, and markets. There is only one way to have the above, which covers the whole ground simply, cheaply,



and totally without risk or damage; and that way is in a Farmers' Exchange. It must not bind any member to any responsibility, except to pay his share of hall rent and any remuneration to the secretary for hire, necessary postage, and other small expenses. Any contracts for buying or selling together, or other arrangements, are of and between the parties themselves; and the only part the Exchange takes is to record or hold contracts, and enforce them when necessary, as in the settlement of any other differences among members.

Socially it might be made a power, and reading matter, market reports, etc., could be at hand. These adjuncts must, however, be laid aside when the hours of business are called. The "penny-wise and pound-foolish" practice of some farmers, as well as the meanness of waiting until others make a success, must be banished. When anything is certain, cheap, and without responsibility or risk, and shows great success and profit in similar things, and is also fully adapted to use, any interested party is unwise to be over-suspicious and wait. Both these are thieves of opportunity, success, and time.

The author would make a successful illustration of this old organization as applied to farmers did time and surrounding conditions warrant it, but will do anything possible to forward so simple but certain and efficient nucleus for Thought, Thrift, and system among farmers.

OFFICIAL DUTIES.

Too often are men in political office blinded by sectional animosity or party hate. This has been, and still is, one of the greater evils of the present age. The best interests of the country demand that men in official positions should more consistently perform the duties incumbent upon them. The grave responsibilities attaching to official duties should be more carefully considered in their proper senses than they now are. A President of the United States, in his selection of men to compose his cabinet, should not be guided by the selfish and personal favoritism which, in the later years of the Republic, has largely been the case. Neither should the people themselves, in voting for the Congressmen who make their laws, be guided by other rules than those which put the men *best fitted* for them in official positions. Party strife in this country has been too much blended with sectional prejudices to render it promotive of the best teachings of the true ends of a popular government. In this way are put into office men who, in the discharge of the duties of their positions, infuse such principles into them as have been awakened by purely party doctrines.

The judicious and impartial discharge of all confided trusts should be the surest test of the fitness for an office.

No selfish purposes should be admitted in the control of political offices. In taking the oath of office, men swear or affirm, as they prefer, faithfully to discharge the duties they are thus called upon to perform. They promise this, too, when they come before the people in the political canvass. It often happens that they prove recreant to the pledge in both instances. The glisten of the gold in the coffers of the Government dispels the idea of onerous and impartial duties, where the greater hope of reward in the consciousness of well and faithfully performed duties loses its old and time-honored incentive. But these are but the natural consequences of political ambition and the greed for gain sought in the field of politics, which stop at nothing to secure projected ends. The political tendencies of the people of this country are rapidly running in the grooves of money-getting. The American people are becoming money maniacs, but, unlike the madmen who chase the demons of delirium and are frightened by the creations of their own distempered fancies, the money-getting men are not disturbed by the consequences of getting money. When they fail, they blame some one else for their failures. The race for office, as one of the ways of supplying money, is pursued by many men with a greed as great as that of a hungry wolf seeking human prey. They do not stop to think of their unfitness for office; but when they get it, and find this out, do they resign? Not they. They pull through somehow, and are applauded by some of their constituents for what they have never done and never could have done. They voted, perhaps, on some questions, but this was a foil to ward off suspicions and mistrusts of their supporters. A bill has passed, it is true, and they voted for it in the meaning of its support; but did they help to

frame it? Did they offer any amendments to make it more beneficial in action, or understand its import? No; it was all right with them. Are such men as these to be returned to the control of the Government? The people of this great country should make a higher use of the right of suffrage than by electing to office unqualified and unfaithful servants of their interests, rights, and principles.



Objects of Good Government.

The objects of good government ought to be best understood and appreciated by those who live under it and understand its nature. The Government of the United States is called a good form of government, because, as made by the people, for the people, it is a popular form. But there are many things now existing which threaten to render it much less popular than, in the light of its objects, it once was. As men advance in the many and varied relations of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the incentive to the more complex systems of government are brought into action, and become, in some instances, burdens rather than blessings. Such is the condition of the people of the United States to-day. Increasing population and immigration, with the consequent increased responsibility of those who must make the laws for the government of the people, must be continually suggestive of certain changed conditions and circumstances. To meet these, in the strict sense of wisdom and justice, becomes more and more the duty of those holding the reins of governmental control. Congress is invested with the power to make such laws as may be demanded by the issues springing from the almost constantly occurring needs and privileges of the people. To preserve them from the tendencies to

corruption, brought about by rapid wealth accumulation, must continue to be a grave question as among the perils of the period. The history of all nations and countries indicates the dangers continually presented by advancing civilization, especially to be considered at this age of money-getting in the United States.

Vast wealth tends rather to luxurious habits of ease than to that vigor in industry so remarkably true of the American people in the earlier stages of their growth and prosperity. The present indications of these dangers should infuse into national council the determination of its representatives carefully to weigh and consider them as among the most notable subjects of correction. Among other objects implied in good government are the necessities for relieving the people of such oppressions as are subjects of complaint by them. The right of the people to quietly assemble and petition Congress for a redress of their grievances is one of the many wise provisions of the Constitution of the United States, directed to the perpetuity of the Republic. By maintaining the laws, under which the people may more thoroughly enjoy the blessings vouchsafed to them by their forefathers, the greatest good to the greatest number is secured, and their peace and happiness more permanently established. The Government of the United States, conducted in this way, cannot fail of the objects provided for by its founders in so remarkable and foreseeing a manner. The prevalence of a liberty, tempered by a control which by all civilized people is acknowledged to be just, must largely depend upon the preservers of the objects of a popular form of government. Under the broad charity of the Republic, a safe shelter is found for the miserable and oppressed of all nations

who have come and who may come into its protecting fold. But, like our own people, the aliens and outcasts of other countries must be worthy of the security and blessings of a popular government before they can be admitted to citizenship and a participation in its administration. The ground-work of our Government was laid in honest principle by the men whose rude sagacity and prescience sought for coming evils the surest remedies. Upon this basis grew the gigantic structure of the present. Let men look to it that they keep it from the Babel of offended mercy, or confusion and anarchy must surely result.



PUBLIC LANDS.

Originally the public lands of the United States represented 1,864,382,223 acres, which in 1870 had been reduced by grants, sales, etc., to 1,387,732,210 acres, which latter includes the unearned railroad grants at the time. It was expected that from the sale of these lands a large income would result, which might be beneficially applied in various directions for the public good. By an Act of Congress, approved September 20, 1850, there was granted to the State of Illinois for railroad purposes 2,595,000 acres of the public lands. The State transferred this grant to the Illinois Central Railroad Company, in exchange for which the railroad company pledged itself to pay the State the equivalent of seven per cent. of the total amount realized from freight and passenger carriage in lieu of all other taxes. The railroad company had, by January 1, 1873, sold of this magnificent land grant 2,250,633 acres, retaining the balance of 344,367 acres. This precedent was made the occasion for petitions to Congress for grants from other railroad companies, and the result was that large portions of the public lands were bestowed upon various other railroad companies. The receipts from the public lands thus bestowed were very small. They were given to the railroad companies, and thus and in other ways the people were made to pay for the railroads to create

profits for the stockholders. The public lands which, by Government sanction, had come into the possession of the railroad companies of the United States up to 1870, represented a grand total of 198,165,794 acres, or over 300,000 square miles—an area larger than the State of Texas, which has 274,356 square miles. Millions of acres more were granted, but then unearned. In 1880 the domain covered by public land, west of the Mississippi, exclusive of 110,000,000 acres yet due to railroads, 80,000,000 of private claims, and of Alaska, represented a total of 633,787,746 acres. Of these the Government, in 1881, disposed of 10,893,397; in 1882, 14,309,166; in 1883, 19,430,032; and in 1884, 27,531,170 acres, leaving a balance owned by the Government of 561,623,981 acres. From this amount has since been subtracted annually large quantities, sold and granted for educational and other purposes. The receipts acknowledged by the Government for all public lands sold in 1887 aggregated \$9,254,286.42. Even at the present rate of disposition of the public lands, it is estimated intelligently that in twenty years they will be exhausted or nearly so. Much complaint exists against the Government for an abuse of trust involved in excessive grants of the public lands to railroads and sales to foreign purchasers. These lands are the property of the people, placed in trust with the Government for their benefit. The exhaustion of the public domain, in other than in the most beneficial manner, may have a result which would not be in the nature of the greatest good for the greatest number.

Patents and Patent Laws.

The people of the United States, as the inventors of the world, are attracting the attention and encouragement from their Government never before extended to any other nation. A consideration of the "Patent Laws" of the United States is hence fraught with much interest to every one. The patent system of the United States grew up under "a positive grant in the Federal Constitution," and dates from 1790, when the first act was passed. The general law affecting patents now in force is that of 1870. With reference to who may obtain a patent, the law stipulates: "Any individual, whether of native or foreign birth, or residing in this or a foreign country, as the originator or prime inventor of any article which may be considered patentable, may secure 'letters patent' therefor." A patent may be issued to the assignee of its inventor, but the inventor himself must make the application, and record of such assignment must be first made. "In case of the death of the inventor, his legal representatives may apply for the patent." Where an invention is jointly claimed, a joint patent may issue; but in the case of distinctive inventors of separate and independent improvements in the same machine or contrivance, a patent to cover distinctive inventions cannot be secured. The real author of the invention has the prior claim to a patent as the first discov-

erer of the essential plan or principle of the origination. Also the original inventor can, without prejudicing his rights in a patent, entertain or adopt suggestions, hints, or practical assistance from others, and may put them to use in bringing his invention into practical shape and operation. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Prof. S. F. B. Morse, the inventor of the electric telegraph, decided that certain information used by him to bring his design to perfection "neither impaired his rights as an inventor nor detracted from the merits of the invention." On the other hand, it is held that "If the principle or plan of the invention is substantially communicated to the patentee, who contributes only the ordinary skill of the constructor or mechanic, he will not be regarded in law as the inventor." As to what articles may be patented, the law states that any "art, machine, manufacture, or composition, or any new and useful improvement thereof," will constitute the subject of a patent. The law emanating from the Act of Congress of 1870 provides that letters patent may issue for "any new and original design for a manufacture, bust, statue, alto-relievo, or basso-relievo; or for the printing of woollen, silk, cotton, or other fabrics; any new and original impression, ornament, pattern, print, or picture intended for any article of manufacture; or any new, useful, and original shape or configuration of any article of manufacture." The life of a patent can be in no case longer than seventeen years, except in the case of foreign patents, which may exist in this country for the length of time granted in the country where first issued. Letters patent may be obtained by the applicant filing in the Patent Office a petition on oath or affirmation that "the

petitioner, if the inventor, believes himself to be the original and first inventor of the invention."

Patents under the law of 1870 are issued for seventeen years, but without the privilege of renewal. Concerning infringement of patents, the statute is not definite. It bestows for a period not exceeding seventeen years upon the patentee the "exclusive right to make, use, and vend" his invention or discovery throughout the United States; but what is *considered* an infringement is to make, use, or sell without license what has been patented by another.

During 1887 there were issued from the U. S. Patent Office at Washington 21,387 patents of various descriptions. Five gold medals were voted American competitors at the International Electrical Exposition at Paris a few year ago, and these were the only gold medals awarded. Herbert Spencer says that "beyond question, in respect of mechanical appliances, the Americans are ahead of all nations." Inventive genius is rapidly being multiplied in the United States. In proportion as the demand is felt for additional inventions, they are produced. This age for Americans is one of invention and industrial progress. The daily heralding of successful inventions has come to be an old story. As every question is generally supposed to have two sides at least, the matter of patent rights has two extremely large ones. That the stimulation of having a sole monopoly of the general use of an idea for seventeen years or more has increased invention, is generally believed; that it has cost the general public millions of extra dollars is positively known. It is very reasonable that a majority of these inventions would have resulted without the reward ex-

tended, as thousands of valuable ideas and improvements have been given to the world unpatented. The cost of obtaining a patent is small, but the expense of using it or manufacturing and "putting it on the market" is very great, and impossible for a man of moderate means or one not versed in either making or selling except in a small and unprofitable way. As "necessity is the mother of invention" the world over, the inventor, being poor, is neither a large manufacturer nor a wholesale dealer. These latter are the only ones who now can make and handle the most meritorious inventions. The secret and the facts now are, generally, that these latter buy the right or monopoly for the song and combine it with the immense protection through our customs duties. More millionaires are made, the laborer pays higher and works harder, and the Western farmer especially, gives a new mortgage with interest added in.

A few instances of where the real patentees are reported to have profited by their possibly chance inventions are below given, but "no one knows," nor is there any evidence, that they are not assignees of the patents for a consideration.

The New Jersey man who hit upon the idea of attaching rubber erasing tips to the ends of lead pencils is now worth \$200,000.

The miner who invented a metal rivet or eyelet at each end of the mouth of coat and trousers pockets to resist the strain caused by the carriage of pieces of ore and heavy tools, has made more money from his letters patent than he would have made had he struck a good vein of gold-bearing quartz.

Every one has seen the metal plates that are used to

protect the heel and soles of rough shoes, but every one doesn't know that within ten years the man who hit upon the idea had made \$250,000.

As large a sum as was ever obtained for any invention was enjoyed by the Yankee who invented the inverted glass bell to hang over gas jets to protect ceilings from being blackened by smoke.

The inventor of the roller skate has made \$1,000,000, notwithstanding the fact that his patent had nearly expired before the value of it was ascertained in the craze for roller skating that spread over the country a few years ago.

The gimlet-pointed screw has produced more wealth than most silver mines, and the Connecticut man who first thought of putting copper tips on the toes of children's shoes is as well off as if he had inherited \$1,000,000, for that's the amount his idea has realized for him in cold, clammy coin.

The common needle threader, which every one has seen for sale, and which every woman owns, was a boon to needle users. The man who invented it has an income of \$10,000 a year from his invention.

The improvement, justice, and benefit of the Government awarding direct cash premiums or bounties to inventors needs no argument nor explanation, and the people who would be the beneficiaries by hundreds of millions of dollars can have it so. A commission could determine the prospective value and the merit, as they do now largely and satisfactorily in Australia.

A very late instance of the bad effect of giving a long-term monopoly in the make and use of a simple invention is the late dividend of the Bell Telephone Company. The

shares are reported to be ten dollars each, and held by rich people; nine dollars per share was declared to their holders—being out of the last six months' earnings. The business communities—out of which this immense dividend at the rate of 180 per cent, annually was forced—charge it up in turn to their customers. The question arises, also, are these God-given conveniences, as telegraphs, etc., as prompt, cheap, and useful as if competition had never been stifled by patent rights, or as if Government owned competing lines? The evident cure for these, as for the other law-forced extortions—in the judgment of those who give Thought to bring Thrift—is to unite to vote down the laws which built them up.

Men who cannot overcome partisanship, prejudice, or a bribe, and vote with *any* party whose platform they can make to *mean* freedom and prosperity for selves, family, and friends, deserve poverty and serfdom, and will come to them in due time. He is either a dupe or a dunce who even hopes for relief, or sincerity in promise, by any party controlled by the wealthy or their henchmen.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

From the Whigs and Tories of the American Revolution, the political parties of the United State have been resolved into the two great and powerful divisions now represented by the Republicans and Democrats. Upon these two political parties rests our present political government. Into their hands are committed the safety and security of a popular government, handed down to us by its wise and prudent builders.

The history of both parties and the administrations their representatives have conducted, and are now conducting, is before the public. The necessity of *two* political parties becomes evident in a country of such widely different customs and occupations. This fact will be freely admitted by all persons who recognize the restrictive influences thus engendered, and which cannot but be salutary. Our greater statesmen were of different political persuasions, and voiced their sentiments with a wisdom equally balanced and determined. The people of this country have seen how far politicians and voters have been led by sectional animosities and blind adhesion to bigoted political doctrines. The people themselves must be the judges of which party best protects their interests and supports the true principles of a Republic.

Among the minor but ambitious political parties which have acquired existence from moral suasion and the real or supposed evils threatening the country, are

the Union Labor, Prohibition, and Greenback parties. These political differences have been actuated by such motives as have given them respectability and serious attention; but from the history of such movements it cannot reasonably be expected that they will long continue in the face of the two powerful and more popular political divisions of Democracy and Republicanism. The merging of the object represented by the Labor and Prohibition parties into the others, seems, in the popular opinion, almost certain to follow. At least it is certain that in the history of other countries, as well as this, it has been proven that the many attempts to establish and long maintain other than old and greatly dominating political parties have been failures. It is hence confidently expected that in a short time the leading political parties of to-day will absorb the others.

While this condition exists, no man can afford, from bribe or hate, to vote against the one nearest the people's interests. One vote sometimes decides an election, and one vote in each township or precinct often does. Such a vote lost—if favorable to actual, genuine tariff reform and reduction, and to a candidate who will favor making all combination thieves criminals under the law—loses hundreds or thousands of dollars to this voter, and millions to his class and the earning mass.

A political party composed of the members of other parties out of power, of similar interests, aided by all whose interests are mutual, would, under new management, make a powerful organization, and one which could have for its success and continued existence stronger reasons than, perhaps, has any of the present parties. If moderate and thorough, it could now right great wrongs.

Profits and Plunder.

The ends and aims of all business should be directed to profits, but *not* to plunder. All kinds of investment of capital, in money, brains, or labor, should have the benefits which may be derived from them; but when directed in the interests of profits to the extent of plunder, they fail of their virtue and integrity. Men must secure a return for labor or capital, measured by their ability to conduct and manage business. To seek the plunder that belongs to dishonest profits, procured in designing, treacherous ways, is sheer robbery, and cannot be called by another name appropriately. We are—a few of us—as a great writer phrased it, “too beastly prosperous.” Embarked in the varied industries of the United States, in almost every direction, are found the greedy, speculators, who even invade the provision market to buy up and hold up prices beyond the abilities of the poorer classes of the people to pay. The wealthier classes are growing richer every day through processes that impoverish labor, by putting upon it burdens too grievous to be borne with the continued fortitude now exhibited. In other words, they are plundering the poor to enrich themselves. They spend their time in devising schemes to filch from needy laborers the very bread and meat that support their lives and those of their families. They even put upon clothing such obligations as would

render it almost a necessity for a return to barbarism for relief. The numerous ways in which the larger profits of manufacturers, capitalists, monopolists, trusts, and other speculative leagues of the hour might be beneficially directed to the whole people, are reversed by those who make profits by plunder. With none but selfish motives in their hearts, they become more and more reckless and impudent. No man of sound mind and common sense can reasonably object to the making of money in the true sense and in honest ways; but our wisest men predict utter ruin to those who make profits by plunder. It is a dangerous principle, and one which, if as persistently followed in the future as it is to-day, must work serious injury to the peace and perpetuity of the institutions of our Government. The very nature of our civil, religious, and political liberty cannot partake with safety of the dangerous tendencies of capital as it is now arrayed against labor in this country.

The vast profits arising from aggregations of wealth in monopolies and trusts, point directly to an abuse of vital systems. Labor is always worth what it will bring in the market, in the sense of supply and demand; but both supply and demand are seriously curtailed by imposing laws that only operate against them. These laws are, in many instances, dictated by the constituents of our law-makers, under whose control they appear to be, to the dangerous extent of doing evil that good may come. They reason with a skill that belongs to a better judgment, and heap oppression upon the weak and helpless. And yet they defend themselves by inventing reasons which have some of the complexion of plausibility without the smiling face of absolute honesty. They fall into traps baited with gold. The old saying

that "to catch a miser you need only bait a steel trap with a fourpence," seems to apply to them as the misers of legislation for the sake of the money of their supporters, for which they must devise the systems of its greater accumulation. And these whom they would willingly serve are their strong allies. They put them in power, and some return must be made if they continue there. Selfish greed for place and money rules them, and the dependent workingman must pay the penalty of their continuance in office.

With all the boasted intelligence and facilities for news of this age, it does not seem possible that men who are dignified as voters can still continue such officials who continue and increase jobbery, bribing bank, railroad, and patent-right monopolies, trusts, and their father—high tariff—and have done so for thirty years, until now the latter is at the highest *point* bearable. Can such old deceivers, who have so long promised reduction and reform, still humbug the sufferers with the old or even new lies and subterfuges?

Political Economy.

Political Economy is conceded to be based mainly upon the results of agriculture and labor, and chiefly depends upon their productions for an existence. Hence a brief discussion of it must be beneficial. The best definition, and the one upon which the above statements are made, would seem to be that it is a science which treats of the production and distribution of wealth, so far as they depend upon the laws of human nature. This is the idea of John Stuart Mill, and Mr. Senior calls it the science which treats of the nature, the production, and the distribution of wealth. In delving among the abstruse and extensive works of a score of distinguished authors and commentators on this subject, there are found a few simple propositions on which they generally agree, and from these they diverge and often become diverse. These propositions, too, must be surrounded by natural conditions for their full operation—where statute laws have not invaded, and where there are no unknown and unanticipated quantities. Adam Smith says that national policies leave nothing at perfect rest. These fundamental principles have nearly or entirely all been mentioned in this work, and no person of average mind need feel fearful of discussing or considering them. Though great minds have carried the simplicity of them into intricate theories, yet time has proved most of these

to be fallacies and failures. Agriculture is acknowledged to be the source and foundation of all wealth and its continued existence ; labor being " their father and active principle, while the lands are their mother." More comprehensively, it may be said that the real sources of wealth are the gifts of nature and the labor of man. Labor is also the measure of value in the necessary exchanges, and though coin is made a standard of comparison, corn would be more appropriately so but for its inconvenience. Distribution and consumption of wealth, so as to fulfill the law of compensation and sustain good government and morals, are held important. For the individual to be led to good citizenship and to subordination to a government and its laws, money in circulation to be just sufficient at all times to meet requirements, and taxation to be equitable and least oppressive, are most desirable. Country, city, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce should be nearly co-ordinate, and none given undue consideration or encouragement over another. This is as nature and nature's God have done. Unnecessary wars, slavery, gambling, and all immorality, aggregations of capital and monopolies, are deemed demoralizing and exceedingly dangerous, as is special, class, and other unnatural legislation. Upon points of government, balance of power, protection, and other systems of taxation, all sides have been taken, and all theories have been both ably proved and crushed. While all wealth comes from the earth, the products of the farms cause a value to attach to the products of the mines and of the seas. The world could not be peopled without the farm and the farmer, but the people could exist without the considerations of labor above mentioned. Hence the causes and continuance of all values on land

and sea are the comparatively much-abused, poorly-clad, hard-worked, poorly-paid farmer and general laborer. With all these conditions on them, by the aid of close economy, they, in rare instances, become in old age what was once known as rich and independent. They produce much that they consume, but most of their productions go in exchange for other necessities. Demand and supply, if left untrammelled by laws and combinations, would give them a fair and equal chance for equal education; proportionate representation in legislatures and in Congress; a heeded voice in social, state, and military affairs; and enable them to obtain a competence before their powers to enjoy it are destroyed. Political Economy, then, intends to show that each man should have full opportunity to get and preserve his just proportion, not only of all wealth accumulations, but also of all positions of power, self-defense, and honor; that it is not a science for national, state, or town application alone, but for every person who deserves the name of citizen. Though it is supposed to be a science of natural laws for human nature *en masse*, human special laws have, by our consent, usurped the throne, set natural laws—as to distribution at least—aside, and made government in a sense paternal. Where these special laws of human enactment accord with natural laws of divine ordination, no real wrong or conflict can ensue; for the latter are our standards of right and justice. To argue or believe that all laws on our statute books are such, and that they really give to every man his due, is infantile folly. As well to urge that all men are perfect, and none selfish, short-sighted, obstinate, or dishonest, as to claim that a large body of average men can agree on a volume of laws in a few short weeks, and these all be wise and of the greatest

good to the greatest number. The reverse is generally conceded to be true, particularly in the laws made by the average body of law-makers, though not so the common law. The great value of many statute laws is that they are subject to repeal, and too much law is as damaging as the surfeit of any other thing. Law has never produced, moved, nor managed any thing material. Brougham said: "It should be cheap, a living letter, the inheritance of the poor, and instead of the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, a staff of honesty and a shield of innocence." Like everything with power, edge, or point, it is good and useful in good and efficient hands, but in others dangerous, if not ruinous.

While most of the prominent and popular writers on Political Economy have been profuse, branching, and opposing, they have analyzed the operations of labor, and found the use of things and the source of wealth. But, as Blanqui says of the ancient but able writers: "They are faithful interpreters of the contemporaneous oligarchy." This now would mean that they sum it up to suit their own party. Government has generally been conceded to be the subject for it to operate upon, and at the same time government is made to operate upon and control it by unsettling its operations. Aristotle gives finance, peace and war, importation and exportation, safeguards of the country, and legislation, as the more important principles of Political Economy. Statute laws and combinations have changed issues and conditions as much as steam transportation and telegraphs have changed the benefits of close markets. The Liverpool prices of our farm products, now regulating and fixing the prices of chief American markets, regulate and fix the prices of our local markets in turn. Such was not the case at all a few

years since. [Certified statistics on this point will be given in their appropriate place herein.]


The benefits of home industries, other than farming, to the farmer, have been diverted and almost destroyed by combinations and trusts, as also by ready and cheap transportation, and the facilities for getting supplies and reports. It is very evident and certain to those interested alone in farming and other manual labor, who will consider the present status and drift, that the views of our past public men and economic thinkers and writers on Political Economy and wholesome laws do not apply now. Say, and other late able European writers, now claim that this science is in a transition state. Class and special legislation by ambitious and often mercenary legislators; the growing, succeeding, and deathless trusts, and other causes mentioned, have upset former rules, theories, and dogmas of natural laws and the distribution of wealth. Physicians claim that even bodily diseases have changed; and they have changed theories, practice, and remedies to accord. If times change, and we change with them, our situations, laws, and conditions change; and with the great mania to get money and get it easily, they change rapidly. So must our theories, political beliefs, and actions change and keep pace with the times. Since government has gone beyond the bounds of simply maintaining peace and justice for and among the governed, it can be and is used by the shrewd and designing who have power and influence. They manipulate property and income from the possession of the masses—though voters and in the majority—to their own use and emolument. This is not repeated, because the people do not know it, but as a basis for denouncing their arm-folded inaction and “can’t-help-it” submission; also to sug-

gest and discuss a mode of action which would bring a sure and permanent relief. It is doubtless a sin to denounce any religion without proposing another that you at least think better.

As will already have been seen, this is not a fight nor agitation against any person, party, or industry, unless of an oppressive nature. It is a call for a rebuttal, for self-defense and freedom; and if it be a fight, it is for justice and against wrong. It is a call for the farmer and other laborer to get their share of future profits, positions, and things worthy and desirable; to ask them to so arm themselves, pursue the same tactics, and stand as faithfully by their families and interests as do those who, though largely in minority, have taken the advantage and really outvoted them. The weapons of the latter are close Attention to their own interests, Business intelligence and methods to work by, and Courage to stick to the work. Cool perseverance, and united, fearless action in politic ways, are their tactics. All the time necessary has been patiently given and industriously used, and their victory is well earned, so far as it has been obtained in a straight and regular way. Their greatest victory is the success achieved in throttling competition, as in "presidents' agreements," trusts, pools, and several other innocent names of detestable, robbing and gluttonous conspiracies to buy at starvation rates, and to sell to the consumers at ruinous prices, the products of the farm and the muscle of the laborers. It is done under the cloak of hypocrisy, urging such combinations as necessary to the protection of their business from ruin; but is done by those who live like princes, and their protection is taken from women and helpless children, with the usual exceptions. They may say "we

only add a paltry per cent., or we sell at the same or a lower price," but, other things being unchanged, it is and must be false, else why do they combine at cost and trouble? They say: "Protect us, and we will protect the unprotected." Thus they get the power over, control of, and actual ownership of the masses. Never was said even by Solomon a wiser or truer thing than the following from Shakespeare: "Oh! how wretched is that poor man that hangs on princes' favors!" How much more wretched than he is the man who depends for his and his family's steady living on the hire the protected, shoddy millionaire allows him! "Oppression and extortion did extinguish the greatness of that house," "for in one hour so great riches is come to naught." Neither appeals, abuse, nor the history of the end of such a class has any effect on them, and is of no benefit or satisfaction to the sufferers. These oppressors are too sordid to heed the first, too hardened to be moved by the second, and too ignorant of history to be warned by the third. Neither is it any benefit or satisfaction to hear that one or more combinations have burst; that a court has decided that the form or forms of combinations are unconstitutional, nor to hear a prophet declare, "Give them rope enough and they will hang themselves." They may burst, be dissolved by courts, and hang until stiff; but they will rise again. Should one die, the others feed upon the carcass and grow fat. The fabled phoenix, after an existence of five hundred years, burned itself to ashes, from which it was again restored to life by its own agency. These gourmands are a reality, not a feathery myth; and should they die, they would, phoenix-like, come up again a thousand gourmands strong. Augustus had four hundred stalks of grain from one seed, but had

that seed been a noxious weed, there might have been a thousand stalks with a thousand seeds to each. This million-tentacled, capacious, living Loki, is reaching to be both the Sin and Shamas of mythology, one of whom was god of the moon, and the other god of the sun, thus controlling both night and day. It would be well if all these troublous oppressors could—like Loki, the god of mischief—be caught in a net and bound until the Day of Judgment. The only men who are able to exterminate this monster-devourer, and who alone are interested in doing it, are the farmer and the men who work for wages. If they do not bury it too deep for resurrection, and then forever keep a strong guard over the grave, it will drag them and those they love down to rags, hunger, and tenantry. How to do this, is the true Political Economy of the times—plain, simple, and complete. If you have labored for a year as a farmer, stored your wheat, cribbed your corn, and hung up your meat to smoke, and if you find the mice destroying one, rats another, or a thief in your meat house, you do not wait for a neighbor to trap or stop them out; if you do, your other property will probably be the next to go, and yourself removed to the poor-house. One says that “Political Economy is an exposition of the measures necessary for directing the movements of society, so that man may act in harmony with those natural laws which control his efforts to improve his condition.” In other words, it shows that the laws of men should be like those of nature, and give each man equal freedom to benefit himself. When a rich corporation, clique, or class of men ask you to vote them a subsidy, or when they ask for special rights, laws, and taxes, or attempt to work together to make you pay more for what you must buy than the competing market



prices, oppose them at once in every way you can, and improve your condition by warding off robbery. The two cases of proposed theft mentioned are parallel in principle, but one may be for a little meat to maintain a starving life, while the other takes the life's sustenance of the laborers to build up an aristocracy over them. These combinations to increase profits, and these demands for unearned subsidies and benefits, seem to be indulged in by about all the interests and corporations of the country, save and except, notably, the newspaper fraternity, or public journals, the farmers and laboring masses. It may be said that their wide-spread and varying business and products make it impossible for them to league together for advantages, or demand exemptions and special shields. As in taxes, when a part is released from taxation the others have a double amount to pay, so in these immense, unfair benefits, which are taken by the others, the weight falls entirely on the classes named. The beneficiaries also get advantage of the lower prices of those not resorting to their schemes for inflated profits.

Questions of finance and money, public property, balance of trade, commerce, transportation, public credit, taxes, and others, also come under the science of Political or National Economy, and are treated of elsewhere under separate heads.

It is self-evident that the present distribution of increase of wealth is not ruled by a just economy.

Popular and Political Prejudices.

As the results of the varied and numerous differences in the social and political customs of the people of the United States, there exists varied and numerous so-called popular prejudices. In these are included the prejudices that spring from religious zeal and religious fanaticism. The strifes of political parties have engendered many prejudices totally foreign to the true bent of political ambition; and social fashions, forms, and ceremonies—productive sources—have originated and cultivated many more. Prejudice is a “monster of hideous mien” that, like the nightmare, robs of sleep and terrifies the ignorant and superstitious. Prejudice may be called, indeed, a popular superstition, and is very difficult of eradication. The opinion of some people, often based upon sheer ignorance, which guides them in their estimate of others, is the rankest prejudice, and more prejudicial to him who utters it than to the person or persons at whom it is pointed. And yet it is a popular prejudice, because so many entertain and practice it, but for no other reason. Men are not obliged, either by society or politics, to fall into these seriously corrupting errors. It will be found by the attentive reader of this work that prejudice is playing an important part in every relation of the affairs of the people of the United States, to say nothing of the people of foreign countries. Prejudice is as deep rooted

in the American soil as is either politics or religion. In political life, men soon begin to appreciate and understand the prejudices that operate against them. Politics are brought into every thing—from the home to the pulpit, from the cradle to the grave. Our social systems, into which have come many foreign innovations in recent years, partake of many prejudices framed in biased conviction and judgment. In competition, whether in business ways or in social life, are found many and highly objectionable popular prejudices. It is prejudice which abuses competitors, and incites to the advantages which competing individuals are disposed to take. So also does prejudice in favor of their own business incline some manufacturers and merchants to practice dishonest methods of competition. Prejudice is a dangerous school, but some men will learn in no other. The custom among some people of creating prejudices looks very much as if they had no other employment for their time, so industriously do they pursue it. The education which should lead away from this evil has not yet been applied. To go to the end of industrious labor, to awaken such feeling in the minds of others, as some are so fond of doing, is a folly, not to say a crime. A criminal intention is almost as bad as the completed action in this respect. It would appear that popular morals had not considered this increasing vice at all. Many a sermon might well be preached on the subject from the pulpit, and it might be more thoroughly eradicated from man's nature by a persistent education in that direction. It would be only natural to conclude that, with the abundant educational facilities of our country at command, prejudice, like superstition, would have been almost swept away. But it roams through the wider fields of

thought in even greater proportion than was known of it under simpler and ruder systems. The broad bosom of charity should never be able to accommodate this robber of peace and happiness.

In political hates and prejudices we see the rankest, blindest, and most injurious form of these ignorant superstitions, and in their widest, greatest field of operations. There are no disseminators of poisonous creed or doctrine so base and insidious as the political boss and his tools; none so unscrupulous nor selfish as they, nor any dupes and blind followers so set and unchangeable as the prejudiced voter. He sacrifices his family's and his neighbor's interests to blind party hate, though possibly he may be intelligent in some directions.

The narrowest—to a broad, patriotic American—and the most selfish idea and political spur of hatred and prejudice, is the cry against allowing our producers to trade at or nearing par for articles made in another country. We already are, by far, the richest country on earth, with seven-eighths of our arable land yet untouched by the plow, and we have but sixty millions of people to share this wealth. Russia has over one hundred and Great Britain three hundred and sixteen millions. Our wealth is increasing at the rate of over a quarter million dollars per hour for each week day, or thirty-seven and a half millions per week; while the wealth of Europe is decreasing three per cent. per head yearly. These mother countries are buying of us each year about eight hundred million dollars' worth, on which the main or largest purchaser charges us, as yet, no tariff tax or odds. Our millionaire manufacturers and their politicians, who buy mainly in Europe themselves, are, by harping on these strings of prejudice, to the simplicity of voters, causing

us to pay a tax which averages forty-seven cents on each and every dollar's worth of over 4,000 articles of our general use. A small portion of this tax—at most one-tenth—pays nearly the entire Government outlays, including \$75,000,000 yearly for pensions. The largest part—say nine-tenths—goes to the manufacturers, who mainly live in the old and wealthy States. The millions of this last amount are not easily computed, as the tax extends to near everything made in the United States the same as if made in Europe or Asia. The former, or smaller portion, averages yearly about two hundred million dollars, collected at an expense of an average of about six and a half millions yearly. The cost of special agents employed to diminish smuggling amounted, in 1888, to \$177,522. At eight custom houses an average of \$22 $\frac{3}{8}$, and at five others of \$177 3-5, are expended yearly for each dollar collected. Coos Bay (Oregon) custom house costs the Government over \$2,000 to collect \$6.70. There are no statistics on the amount of the productions of American manufactures save in the census of each decade. The facts are reported to be hard to obtain; but in 1880 they were valued at over double the agricultural productions—which are yearly reported—yet we must pay a direct bounty to manufacturers of over two billion dollars yearly. Putting home manufactures at six billion dollars (and the present amount is probably over seven billions) annually, and the average rate of duty charged on imported similar wares at 47 per cent., it would make *two billion eight hundred and twenty million dollars paid for protection each year, in addition to the two hundred millions paid the Government for revenue. The amount to be allowed in reduction of the former amount, on account of home manufactures unprotected and home competition, is not as-*

certainable, but must be comparatively small. Few are unprotected, and home competition is throttled by trusts and "shut-downs." In the above computation it is taken as a basis that manufactures here are similar and in similar proportion to those imported. [See statistics at the end of this work.]

In the foregoing is readily seen the marvelous and mainly useless yearly taxes which the farmers and others who produce, and the mechanics and others who shape, the wealth of the country are heaping upon themselves for the delusive idea of making the nation rich. These foot all the bills, though mainly indirectly and in multitudinous ways.

England, which has been whipped twice by us—though of close kin—and which has free trade, except on some luxuries, is now a most successful manufacturer. Our wealth has grown in one hundred years to exceed what all Great Britain accumulated in six centuries, or, to go back to the abandonment of England by the Romans, fourteen centuries. They have had high protection, including the corn laws; low protection, and lately free trade. Yet we will learn nothing from this country, because our fathers rebelled from her authority, and we refuse to trade with her unless we get one and a half for one. This might be policy if it were not a fact that of this big boot of millions yearly a few hundred persons get by far the largest part, at the expense of the millions of consumers here who pay it indirectly, but surely, in advanced prices of necessities and reduced markets. Another main cause of our tenacity to war taxes is the cowardly hate and deep prejudice still clinging to the narrow and mossy minds of many who should have more business sense and home principle. It is against those

they have conquered—and almost vanquished—to settle the question of States' rights or national supremacy. It has been settled, and peace has reigned a quarter of a century with a reunited family of States and people, except among these bravoës—and the politicians who prod them up at election times. Though a "Northern man" and a "Southern man" may never love and embrace, what has that to do with the "Eastern man," who is slipping away with the meat while the former are throwing the bones at each other? Southern people have claimed that their former citizens are not accorded full rights of citizenship in Northern States when residing there; that they are misrepresented, disliked, abused, etc. Northern men in the South claim that the people are distant or suspicious and selfish; and that the former manners, honor, and hospitality boasted of have largely gone with slavery. Doubtless part of these things is untrue; and if any be true, they possibly arise largely from misunderstandings and conditions. But, were they all true, do a family's quarrels aid to protect it against thieves and enemies? Trusts; extorting of unequal taxes; monopolies; land, railroad, telegraph, patent right, and bank operators are, in various and ingenious ways, now taking off the cream from the labor and the soil of both the new West and the renewing South. Are not your sympathy and affection for a brother laborer and a producer from the soil superior to your prejudice and opposition to a veteran who dared oppose you or your father a quarter of a century ago for what was then thought principle? Especially should this be the case with the victorious party; for a coward only strikes a man when he's down.

While to have a man even intimate, by distance or otherwise, that he thinks his blood and breeding the bet-

ter, is offensive and is generally ridiculous, yet such ideas have existed since the world began, in some sense, and probably nothing will sooner make an enemy of a former friend. The Pharisees thought themselves too holy to remain with the other Jews. No people of the present day are more self-important and exclusive than the mountaineers who never crossed a county line nor ate peas or pie with a fork. The hooting owl, still at its native oak, looks and acts far wiser than does the aged, traveled eagle, and nothing is lordlier than the barnyard fowl. Southern States, like others, have many of these cocks, both old and young.

The author for several years since the civil war lived among what are termed Southern people. Having been reared in the Northeast, and with a business experience of fifteen years in the West, it would seem pardonable to express herein a brief opinion of all. Actual life among a people is, without doubt, the only way to get a true insight into their character, manners, and opinions. With such an experience, a conclusion is reached that if the people of one portion of our common country consider themselves more honorable, able, unselfish, or better as a mass than those of the others, they are surely and deeply deceived. Those of the Northeast may have more ingenuity, energy, business systems, shrewdness, and success than those of the West and South; but the latter two show more confidence and patience while enduring the greater hardships. They pay tribute to the extent of hundreds of millions yearly and freely to the Northeast, and borrow it back with usury and mortgages estimated now at four billions of dollars. The new West is but little behind them in energy, though hampered by political prejudice, newness, and by debt; and the renew-

ing South, largely the same, is increasing the much needed energy through immigration, which seems to be more satisfactory in some form of colony. The East probably better understands that boasting, or absorbing flattery, are neither creditable nor profitable. They want cash. It both buys and bulldozes voters.

The masses of all these are yet overrunning with prejudice as ignorant as it is injurious—and each equally denies it. There are old fossils in our Southern States who yet own lands, banks, or town property which mostly has descended to them; also young spurts who, having no merit of their own, claim blood, sir, from one or more whom they thought great, but whose greatness they blot out by claiming kin. These may lack sense and manners, and want a man from North or West to court or curry favor with them; but there is no law that compels him to do it—not even the laws of respect, demand, or etiquette. Many of the newspapers and people pander to this broken-down aristocracy the same as many do East to the shoddy aristocracy there. Some of these in one section may damn “Yanks,” in another “Rebs,” and “Wild Westers” in a third. These expressions are from envy, loss, and ignorance, and not from the masses of the great middle classes.

Democracy is as rotten in some Southern States as Republicanism is in the always solid States, North and West. Men are put in office because good fighters, crooked workers, or “easy-going good fellows.” In most of these things the various sections of our common country are somewhat similar, and can well afford now to declare them a “stand off,” and thus destroy sectionalism and its terrible injuries. In prejudice the North and

West are fully even, and the West is used as a tool through it to her own exhaustion.

Prejudice and hate are so blinding as invariably to lead a man who weakens to them to talk and vote directly contrary to his best and necessary interests. Some brainless "sovereign voters" will not support measures of the greatest benefit to them if they are favored by some neighbors they dislike, or by the people of some parts of the country who, they imagine, dislike them or "our people." If they be told by politicians that Mexico or England favors woman's rights or public schools, some would vote to take from their wives present liberties, and abolish schools which are educating their children at a small or no expense to them.

To make a prejudice popular is the politician's greatest forte and strongest force to carry through corrupt and robbing schemes, which enrich him and his secret employers at the expense of the mass of the voters.

The remedy for this great blind-folding, robbing superstition is doubtless the same as for the smaller but reducing habits—as tobacco chewing and whisky drinking—stop it, and that at once.

Questions of the Hour.

A general consideration of the grave questions of the hour, in the various subjects embodied in this work, must command respectful attention and popular interest. When we are advised of the dangers with which we have to deal, we, for that reason, become better able to withstand them. If a man be told that a bridge across a dangerous chasm, and which he is approaching, has fallen in, he naturally turns away from it, and proceeds in some other and safer way. This should equally apply to the man who, when shown the error he is making by not properly considering the rights, privileges, and duties of his citizenship, should carefully consider their safer and better direction. In this country the Government is just as much the concern of one man as of another. It was made by the people for the people. Who then must decide as to the observance or non-observance of this peculiarity of its construction? Clearly the people themselves. Every man can with equal propriety say: "This is my Government—made for me by my forefathers." Hence it is every man's business, in this sense, to reason of the ways and means of its better and more impartial administration. Legislation has continued for many years in this country to partake rather of the political zeal that brought about sectional antagonism than of the nobler and more charitable ways practiced by the representatives of the people in the earlier stages of national growth. Then men were moved in the consideration of the graver

questions of the hour by a lofty patriotism that rendered possible the establishment of a republic on this continent.

Of all republics the United States, from its differing customs and institutions, has been most subject to dangers. Foreign immigration, of later years so vastly increased, and now alarmingly increasing with every year, demands much more consideration than our representatives in Congress seem disposed to give it. Taxation is injuriously directed against the very interests which it should be expected to relieve, and against this the loud voice of protest is being heard in the land. Wealth is being hoarded up to form monopolies, trusts, and other speculative manias of the day; the manufacturer is bringing himself into open conflict with the laborer and mechanic; political feeling is running too high; anarchism and socialism are awaiting excuse and opportunity, and the rights and purity of suffrage are invaded by money. The tendency of the times is toward the serious peril of luxurious living and the indolence which produces effeminate and weak minds and natures. In such a condition were found the people of many nations just prior to their downfall, and history repeats itself in this respect.

As demanding the most speedy systems for correction, these questions of the hour must command especial attention and earnest endeavor from the people themselves as well as from those who are vested with the powers of control. It is time that knowledge should undertake to decide these questions in which all are interested. The motives which prompt correction will easily discover the remedies and the best ways of their application. All good and true men should encourage these motives, which should have for their objects the equal and impartial adjustment of pending difficulties and threatening dangers.

REFORM REMEDIES.

There has been much talk of reform in this country, as implied in the necessity of correcting political evils, and it has been the watchword in at least one Presidential campaign. Genuine reform is almost everywhere needed—reform in taxation; reform in most public revenues; reform in general legislation; reform in the exercise of suffrage; reform in elections and the manner of conducting them; reforms in National and State Government; reform in social life and in public institutions. Reforms are of almost daily suggestion in every direction of human affairs, and should be honestly considered, with a view to effective remedies. Reform in a man's life or character, when he is conscious of having strayed from the right path, should at once be put into the most effectual practice. What concerns man's social nature is indissolubly associated with his political nature. As charity begins at home, so should man's social and political regeneration. To regenerate the social world while neglecting individuals who should be made the subjects of regeneration, is about as sensible doctrine as that which would teach reforms in government, and then aid to elect to official positions incompetent, irresponsible men.

There is no perfection in any political party. Socialistic doctrines, which have found a generous and fertile soil in the United States, because of the tolerance of a too great liberty under which our people live, and which

naturally does not restrain the freedom of speech, need the severest reform remedies as being the most violent and open foes of the Republic. Reform in the legislation which burdens the poor man for the benefit of his rich neighbor, as being among the agents of discontent, and as inciting to revolution, and reform in all of the abuses and neglects of the sovereign principles of a free and enlightened people, are needed as the surest remedy for their protection. How best to employ the remedies of reform may be found in the more intelligent and judicious assertion of the rights of suffrage, and in the placing in office of men best constituted and prepared to perform public duties, irrespective of party teaching or private interests. This is the *object* of voting, and these are the men to be voted for. There must be reform in the oppressive systems now so seriously operating upon the great army of our laborers. Their wages are not in proportion to expenses, and even what some of them would receive, however small, are cut down or entirely lost to them by the shutting down of manufacturing establishments. If our country is to continue prosperous and under satisfactory conditions, the many reform remedies so persistently—and with great show of reason—demanded, must be discovered and administered.

While reform is needed in reducing the enormously large salaries attaching to some extraordinary positions among capitalists and monopolists, the reform which would bring into the pockets of laborers adequate wages is much more desirable. The charges of fraud in elections, which in many instances have been well sustained, should be made the subjects of a vigorous reform. Inspection by proper parties of public institutions, as colleges, asylums, and prisons, is demanded. Some of

these are not what their names imply. Men and rings get fastened upon them, and pliant persons of influence and appropriation-shaping politicians are often favored and feasted. The political dogma which instructs that "that government is best which governs least," will always have many advocates in this country. The very nature of our Republic would indicate this; but even that would be a poor argument against the necessity of the various reform remedies suggested in this article.

While laws may not make men better, they restrain them within the limits of necessary control. This is but justice and mercy to all law-abiding people. Good laws will effect needed reforms in politics, and purify the social atmosphere. The facts are presented undeniably herein, that sections and classes have grown and are growing inordinately, immensely wealthy, while other sections and classes are growing proportionately poor, though striving; and that the former has accumulated in a ten-fold shorter time and in a ten-fold greater degree than in any autocratic or monarchical country on earth. These call to men who are yet freemen for immediate investigation and emphatic action. The *extravagant luxury* of partisan prejudice must end! The wealth of this country—as a people—is increasing untold millions and with unprecedented rapidity; and still the producers and shapers of it all find their net earnings, at the end of the year, no more than in the old stage-coach days of the Republic. Many are hood-winked by sophistry; more misled by prejudice; others by pensions; and some "sell their birthright for a mess of pottage." The bait that costs a cent and catches a fish worth a dollar, is the kind that capitalists and their working politicians use. They give us a dollar and covertly take a hundred.

So long as *individuals* argue that their "votes amount to nothing, and a few dollars does," and so long as they believe that farmers and other laborers cannot protect themselves, so long will they be hewers of wood and drawers of water. They will grow poorer and more menial, until death finds them destitute after all their lives of toil and sacrifice. These facts are known to every one of average intelligence; and what is needed now is a simple agreement of the masses on the main causes, and then on a remedy. Some attribute this uneven distribution of the growing wealth to the thought, efforts, and ability of persons and classes, which is partly correct and undeniable; but this does not explain why the bright, active, ambitious boys are leaving farm and shop, nor why men of marked ability and energy have only reached medium success by adhering to them. Not long since our legislative halls and schools were mainly occupied by farmers' sons; now they are but a fraction there. A few years ago the Connecticut Legislature was almost solidly farmers; now there are five manufacturers and three lawyers to one farmer. Eight of the first ten Presidents of the United States were directly interested in farming, but not a President since has known well how to produce the substantials on his table.

In the United States House of Representatives there are 264 professional men to 21 farmers, and they are mainly sent there by farmers' votes. In the British House of Commons there are 162 farmers to 107 professional men, although the town representation is nearly double that of counties; and members classed as "industrial" number 161 in England, and 24 in the United States. These "straws" should, to the average mind, show the direction not only of a trade-wind, but of a

cyclone; and if any indications can exist of the tendency of the times and the drift of the rewards of labor, no surer, clearer ones than the above can be imagined nor constructed. Were these "representatives of the people" the most unselfish and purest of earth, the farmer, mechanic, and laborer could not expect them to do them full justice. It is not human nature; is preposterous and child-like. The average school-boy knows better than to trust the keeping of the game or of a valuable secret to his friendly antagonist, and will hardly trust the dividing of the noon-lunch to a kind brother or a tender sister. The infant as naturally reaches with hands, feet, and mouth for everything in sight as the average legislator does for "fat things" out of sight—especially of their constituents. Farmers, mechanics, and other laborers must think to be thrifty; they must think to look after and vote for their own interests together; must educate their sons to aid them, and must force their representatives to represent them. They must remember that most officials who spend money for election will, on opportunity, rob them of a thousand dollars for every hundred spent.

In a late number of the *Farmers' Voice*, published at Chicago, Ill., the author advocated the calling of an industrial convention with a demand that it be truly representative of the working people of the United States, and them only; the representatives to be fairly divided between the farmers, wage-workers, and other laborers; no associations to be rejected nor admitted, as such, and all safeguards of harmony and fairness to be exercised stringently. The theory of it is to make an opportunity for unity and a proper political course, which would be common to all the interests. Nothing else could succeed, and too much should not be anticipated, even in this. A feasible plan and details can be worked out; the people

are needing and ready for it, and the benefits would be unmeasured; but demagogues and politicians must be strictly and continually ruled down and completely out. The first work would be to discuss and decide whether it is natural laws or legislation which is distributing increasing wealth. If the former, disband; if the latter, endeavor with charity and earnest energy to find the principle and the party which causes injustice and inequality—but old partyism must be buried out of mind. This should naturally lead next to the taking possession of one of the old parties, then to a Congress and an administration of the people for the people—and not for the classes at the expense of the masses. Thousands of men are now ready to join and to select a managing man who, if able and honest, ought be made a Moses. Such men we have, but they are, of course, as yet undeveloped.

In the matter of party, it is evident that it is always changing with its leaders; they make it, shape it, and give it the character it may temporarily possess. Capitalists and all their associations will naturally take—if they have not already taken—possession of one of the two ruling parties; and the laborers and all the great middle class must be dominated by them, so long as they continue with them in party lines.

Forming a new one—as an industrial party—would divide the strength of the remaining party and ever defeat both; hence, why not capture this remaining party and shape, officer, own, and control it? These two old parties are too nearly even, strong, and general, and too well rooted and organized to be beaten for years by a new party. Thus an organization, equipped and drilled, and composed now mainly of the worthy farmers and wage-workers, can be mastered and turned to service at once and successfully by them.

Sectional and Class Legislation.

As among the most needed reforms in this country, sectional and class legislation naturally suggest many abuses therein, which should be speedily remedied. Not only has this been the case since the late civil contest, but it was so before it in a corresponding ratio. This spirit, carried into our national councils by representatives from States hostile to systems in other States, was the occasion for the frequent and intensely bitter sectional contests that arose, and which were continued to the end of plunging the country into a civil revolution. But this same spirit lives to-day, and in more unjustifiable measure; and it is still extended in influencing sectional legislation. The war has been over long enough for the blood of men to cool, and for their return to the peaceful aspect, in which should be considered the duties of the hour. The legislation that benefits one class at the expense of the other is much to be denounced by all good and true men. There should be impartial legislation by our Congress, whose members are expected by those whose representatives they are, thus to preserve the principle of making laws which should govern, but not oppress. It was decreed by the Constitution of the United States that all the people should enjoy equal rights and privileges. The supporters of the stronger party, however, often claim that right is might, and that they have no duty but to suit themselves. A nation cannot be taxed into prosperity; but to secure it in its

fullest sense, there must be freedom from partiality in taxation, party prejudices, and sectional animosities. Government itself may never control the industries of the people as can the people themselves, but it can largely assist in relieving them of the burdens that become disruptive of the true ends of industrial prominence and importance. Again, the legislation directed to favoring certain classes or conditions can but be promotive of serious injury and consequent opposition. These evils and obstacles clog the wheels of industrial machinery and break down the energies of the great masses engaged in laborious pursuits. The representatives of either party who seek elevation by devising and supporting such blighting systems, are not worthy objects of the suffrages of good citizens who value the rights and privileges guaranteed under a republican form of government. Laws are sought for by a governing political party which would greatly imperil the individual rights of the many for the benefit of a class. This is as old as the world almost; certainly as old as the history of civilized nations. But who shall say that it is right and just, humane or honorable? Do our legislators, with an understanding of this question in their minds, perpetuate these impositions upon the people for selfish reasons? Does it not seem so to every unbiased nature? Surely our legislators have a positive and unmistakable knowledge of these subjects, and yet they persist, for party reasons, pay, or influence, in lending their support to injudicious and injurious measures. Should the desires of such men always take shape in the passage of such laws, our country would soon be ruined, and the gigantic structure of our beloved Republic "dissolve, and, like the baseless fabric of a dream, leave not a wreck behind."

Story: The Protective Tariff—Illustrated.

After years of patient toil and numerous sacrifices, James Harrison had reached the zenith of his ambition in the acquirement of almost boundless wealth. From his earliest infancy he had practiced the principles of saving, shown and intensified by his hardy progenitors in daily illustrations. His father had stored his mind with proverbs of the "Poor Richard" philosophy, and the practical son was not slow in applying them. Possessed of a strong physical constitution, he bore his hardships with an indifference to suffering and a courage in overcoming them consistent with his tireless ambition. By the neglect of comforts, the enjoyment of which would have detracted from his savings, he was enabled continually to add to his earnings. While he was the pride of his father and mother, both of whom had been chained to labor's oar all their lives, he was not spoiled by this preference over his brothers and sisters, but was rather incited to a more vigorous prosecution of his daily tasks.

The son of a farmer has, as a farm laborer, but little chance of creating a moneyed capital for himself, unless he be made a sharer in the farm profits, as was the case with James. His father appreciated the better service of a proper reward, and was hence indisposed to deprive his son of any advantages he might give to others. Thus were laid the foundations of the great future of this

representative man. The manufacturing disposition of the people of New England and their early notable achievements—through their natural position and abundance of power—in such industries, easily incited its people to their fuller development and extension. Hence, in the time of our story, a sort of mania for manufacturing possessed these people, never slow in seizing opportunity where profit appears in the background. James naturally became possessed of the design of a more rapid accumulation of money than was possible in the limited opportunities of the farm. The transition from farm labor to that of manufacture was almost as sudden as had been the suggestion, and we find our young hero, at the age of twenty, embarked upon the troublous tides of actual business. His capital consisted of a few hundred dollars, but was fortified by much practical common sense and a more than corresponding application. He chose for his venture the manufacture of boots and shoes, until his day but imperfectly conducted in this country. From having been a farmer, and perfectly advised of the just and true rights of that occupation, he determined to conduct his manufacturing operations in accord with a disposition to benefit that much-abused people by lowering the prices of these necessities. He began by being philanthropic and natural. By application and thrift he speedily won his way to a strong position in the market, and was refreshed and re-invigorated by the continual dropping of gold into his coffers. This spur to extended operations soon resulted in the doubling of his manufacturing capacity and the more generous employment of his capital. In five years he had become a richer man than his early hopes and situation had foreshadowed. Riches often add to popularity and influence, and these

auxiliaries lead on to fame and its concomitant vanities. For the first time the ideas of luxury began to take firm root in his mind. From a humble and poorly furnished apartment in his manufactory, and cheap meals at the town hotel, he succeeded to a handsome brick dwelling, costly furniture, costlier dress, a cook, and a well-spread table. He began to drink wine and smoke fine cigars, and drove the most stylish and speedy team in town. He had found courtship pleasing, and marriage in his position no difficult task, and soon found a wife with means, which added to his greater pleasure and satisfaction in the married state. His home was brightened and rendered dearer by the prattle of children, who afforded another reason for a more vigorous and determined prosecution of business. He now began seriously to have some political reflections, which had not previously disturbed him, and to listen, however impatiently, to political suggestions from his manufacturing associates. His home life was rendered especially captivating by the constant introduction of the articles of comfort and luxury of which he had in his earlier life been deprived. His children, too, now growing to manhood and womanhood, became for him the sources of a tender solicitude and a continual anxiety—smoothed, however, by their willing obedience and visible future promise. His wife was a most excellent woman, who had been, like himself, bred to work, but surrounded by many influences that had in youth been denied to her husband. Among these were the refining tendencies of a liberal education and the love of music and the fine arts, which, at that period, had begun to play no unimportant part in the aspirations and occupations of her associates, and which were early engendered in her susceptible and romantic

disposition. The influence of a wife cannot more sensibly be exerted than in the efforts pledged to her husband's pleasing entertainment; and Mrs. Harrison so far excelled in this respect as to loosen the usually tight-drawn purse strings of her husband in the gratification of her chief pleasures. His daughter Mary was totally unlike her mother in general characteristics, if a certain resemblance in face and figure be excepted. She was a striking picture of calm, sweet content, which is seldom consistent with a station so entirely dependent upon the advantages of wealth. She was her father's own child. He was pleased with her noble and self-sacrificing character, and, while a kind parent to each and all of his children, he ever found in Mary the fullest realization of his hopes. She was as lovely in character as in feature, and insensibly attracted all who knew her. She was fond of dress only in the sense of becoming the position which society naturally accorded her, and which undesignedly she adorned. Educated in the most superior manner by a governess whom she devotedly loved, and supplied with every aid to knowledge that great wealth could confer and native intellect demand, she developed into a wise woman, with rare judgment and a discretion proof against the encroachments of either vanity or foolish pride. A tour of the European continent, in which she was accompanied by her father, an elder brother, and her ever faithful governess, proved a source of the greatest charm, as permitting her to view with an artistic eye the masterpieces of foreign art, and spend delightful hours in contemplating historic relics—the legacies of past ages. A residence of more than a year abroad, during which her father gratified her every wish and fancy in the collection of various treasures of art and expensive articles of nov-

elty, while greatly contributing to her stores of knowledge, detracted nothing from her amiability of character and natural devotion to her native land. But the father was differently affected. He suddenly, after his return home, assumed another air and manner—grew fond of aristocratic ceremony at his table, and in the government of his household. He suggested to his wife, from time to time, to give a party, or to be more gracious to her distinguished neighbors. He returned his eldest son to college at Oxford, in England, and sent his two other sons to Heidelberg, in Germany. His wealth grew enormously, and he abated none of his original zeal in its further acquisition. He gave liberally to charity and to help found schools and churches, but in business his rules were inflexible, and whoever received wages from him fully earned them. He was as conservative in this regard as ever. Reared like his father, a democrat of the most bigoted character, and still thinking, as he had always done, with that party on all important points, he favored the reduction of the tariff on the necessities of life. He felt, too, that to make men richer by taxing their poorer neighbors was rank injustice, and contrary to the laws which conduce to good government. He recognized the constitutional rights which the people should enjoy, of freedom from oppressive and dissatisfying systems. Believing in the laws being imposed for good order and good government, by the people for the people, he thought that any tampering by government otherwise would be injurious. He was a plain, blunt, outspoken man, who seldom listened to advice, having ever before him the strongest convictions of a ripe judgment, and a confidence born of the rudest courage. Just prior to a national election he was surprised one morn-

ing in his office by the entrance of the mayor, followed by four of the leading and most prominent citizens of the town, like himself in the manufacturing line. He received them kindly, and said :

"I am pleased, gentlemen, by your visit, but allow me to ask why I am so much honored? If I can be of any assistance in furthering the interests of the town by aiding a subscription, or anything of that sort, you may command me."

A bland smile spread over the fine, open face of the mayor, and, taking a chair Mr. Harrison had forgotten, in his surprise, to offer, replied :

"My dear sir, we are fully sensible of your very philanthropic—I may say nobly charitable—disposition, so singularly evinced in your many deeds of mercy and acts of kindness, and we are not come now to suggest anything of that kind, but to discuss with you an encroaching wrong we may be pardoned for saying we do not think you are as yet fully aware of."

Had a grave charge been made against him, he would not have been more astonished. He was totally unprepared, too, for what followed.

"Well, gentlemen, it seems I have wronged you, but it must have come from ignorance, a thing I am sorry for ; but will you let me know what this thing is you hint at?"

"My dear sir," responded the mayor, "do not be alarmed, though it must be confessed that in your case there is cause for apprehension. You will acquit me and these gentlemen, I have no doubt, of any other intention than the interest we naturally feel in so useful and influential a citizen and our mutual business interests, and permit us to advise (and I come directly to the point) your earn-

est attention to your own interests as involved in the great question now before the people—that of the tariff.”

“The tariff, eh?” he answers, “but I don’t want anything to do with the tariff except as it can be altered and reduced so as to make the tax as light and equal as we can.”

“But, my dear sir,” insisted the mayor, “you need continued high protection, and the kind of taxation that secures it.”

“Yes,” returned Mr. Harrison; “but why do I need so much protection? I have already more property than I need; my business is in a good condition. Is it more just to my employes or their families? But I don’t care to argue the question, and, at the expense of being rude, prefer not to.”

The gentlemen departed, much discomfited at having failed in their object of winning a new and valuable convert to their principles. But they resolved not to abandon hope, as they were confident that success would follow persistent appeals, which they, then and there, decided to make. In the meantime a Democrat had been installed in office as President of the United States. Mr. Harrison had cast his vote for him, but beyond that had embarked neither money nor influence in the campaign. He was satisfied from what he knew of the record of the candidate, and considered the country safe in his hands. With the defeat of the Republican party, the attacks upon Mr. Harrison’s political opinions were renewed in a much greater than their former degree. It became highly embarrassing to be thus made the target at which were aimed the shafts of associates and disappointed politicians, and he became restive and impatient. To add to his troubles, the follies

and debts of his youngest son, then at Heidelberg, were for the first time revealed to him by his wife, who, fearing his anger, had for some time refrained from any disclosures of her knowledge of them. This was the greatest blow he had yet received, and it struck in a vulnerable spot. He was and had been the soul of honor in all his transactions, and considered it criminal to run into debt beyond means to pay. The son was recalled, and after a long lecture from his father, and one he continued to remember for many a day, was installed as a clerk in his father's manufactory. Here his reform was as rapid as it was salutary, and his father began to have confidence in him as the future head of the establishment. But the political persecutions and discussions, which had before the return of the son been directed to the father alone, were now visited upon the son also. Being less endowed than his father with stubbornness, and flattered by these attentions from the most prominent men of the town, and incited by self-interest, he soon became a convert to these teachings, and embraced the protective principles of the Republican party.

Frequent were the discussions that now arose between father and son upon this subject. The daughter, too, became interested in the question, and, by opposing her brother's arguments, gradually turned her father to evidently show some sympathy for the son, who always seemed to be worsted in these encounters—the sister's superior education turning the scale in her favor. By this continual consideration of the system of protection advocated by his Republican associates, assisted by his son, who had now become indispensable to his father's business, the father was brought to a view of the subject which previously he had never entertained. The son

was now far on the road to his aristocratic goal, and was the proud companion of the town's most distinguished and wealthiest men, the majority of whom were Republicans. Mary, imbued with what she considered more philanthropic principles, laboriously combatted her brother's arguments, which, fortified by a careful study and analysis, were difficult to overthrow. She, however, persevered, though with slight hope of success in bringing her brother back into the Democratic fold.

"Never mind," she would say; "when my brothers return, they will be my allies and help me against you. You, with father's favor, are almost too much for me, but I shall not yield my point. I feel assured that I am right, and, for that reason, must continue to wage battle. I occupy a position, it may be, difficult of defense, but the principle is sound, and the future great hopes of the masses must thereon largely depend."

This would be met by her brother, who would say:

"Oh, pshaw! sister, if you had the whole country on your side, it would even then not prove the justice of the position you assume," and her father would add:

"You are right, my son; the defeat of a measure does not prove that it is a bad measure. I begin to believe that philanthropy and the relief of the poor from what you call the oppressions of the rich are flimsy arguments, and have nothing to do with business or the good of the country. I like Mary's pluck, but must say that I don't like her business judgment. She contends with a zeal worthy of a better cause, and I am sorry to say that we will continue to conquer her."

"Yes, but I see now," said Mary, "that you are fully against me and glory in my defeat, which I have not yet acknowledged; but look to it, that I do not yet prove the

justice and force of my claim that the people would be more contented and prosperous under a less oppressive system of taxation."

In a few months after this the two brothers returned from abroad with heads full of learning, but no practical ideas. However, these were soon developed in a family where practical system ruled, and in the factory, where everything was regulated with clock-work precision and accuracy. These young men, just let loose from the restraints of a life at college, were much surprised at the warm discussions almost daily indulged in by their father, sister, and younger brother; but, finally, becoming interested, engaged in them with as much ardor as the other participants. They began to look into the questions for themselves, and, as the sister had predicted, threw their strength on her side. The poor mother, well nigh distracted by such continual debates, whenever they began betook herself to a quiet apartment, where she read her favorite books or indited verses for amusement and relief. The interests awakened by these repeated contests of argument grew apace, and they threatened to be prolonged to an indefinite extent. Almost every evening they were renewed, and Mr. Harrison dwelt more and more upon the advantages of the cause he now espoused, and the blessings it would confer upon the country.

"But," his daughter would say, "I cannot yet understand, father, why you, of all people, feel so acutely the need of protection. Do you know that in leather and its manufactures our country exports yearly about \$10,000,000 worth, and that manufactures maintain a most healthy aspect, which can hardly be said of many other industries? You propose to take off the revenue from whisky and tobacco, which are not necessities, but luxurious evils,

and make the poor farmer and other laborers pay a tax for the very clothes they wear, not to speak of the many other articles they are compelled to have, and which are highly taxed. Such philosophy as this may do for very rich people, who pay no more of this species of tax than a poor family; or for those who are directly engaged in any branch of manufacture not remunerative; but how you can encourage such a doctrine is beyond my comprehension. You have the interests of your employes at heart, and you should feel that they are entitled to more consideration than you now seem willing to allow them."

"It is for that very reason, as well as many others, that I think as I do, my daughter. This protection is meant for every one, and not for one class. It is intended to help the farmer, the manufacturer, the laborer, the merchant—as well as to raise the wages of our employes. It stops any competition of their rights and privileges by making them able to get from their business or work the best profit. It has been proved by the experience of many years to be the easiest and the only true way of taxation, that takes in all men as equal taxpayers and sharers in its benefits."

"But," insisted Mary, "why will you persist in believing these political dogmas, intended for a purpose, and having for their support only the interested, it may be ingenious, arguments of politicians and those who hang upon their favor? What is the use of a protection if it taxes and benefits all alike? If one gains, another must lose. And do you pay more wages than is necessary to get operatives, or refuse to employ immigrants? What is false in one particular is false in all. One defect defeats a perfect whole."

"You are right, my sister," said the eldest brother, who had until now taken but little share in these contentions. "I fully agree with you, and honor you for such logical statements, which do not usually belong to women. We will yet overcome the other side, and then we shall celebrate our victory with you for our heroine! What may not be the condition of the Republic in the near future if personal rights and reciprocal relations are to meet with this unnatural interference. German and French protection has made revenue to those nations, but has impoverished and is impoverishing the masses. Why may not Americans enjoy at proper prices the products of any and all looms and founderies without having to pay a tax that few can afford? It looks very much as if protection, as it is called, was intended only for the rich; the poor certainly do not desire it as a means to increase, instead of to reduce, their living expenses. When the laborer is allowed only enough to feed and clothe his family, and is unjustly and unwarrantably taxed to 'protect him from foreign intervention,' he can but be blind to his own interest and under the political lash if he continues to support men for office who thus place him and who keep him poor. It cannot be justified by any rule of common sense or fairness. This may not be just as bad as doing evil that good may come, but it looks wondrously like it."

"Hurrah, brother!" said Mary, "then you scored a point."

"Now, my children," said Mr. Harrison, "do let us be reasonable. It used to be said when I was a boy that 'the time to holler is when you are out of the woods.' You have not reached that point yet. You have by no means beaten us; you simply go around the main prop-

ositions, and content yourselves with having 'scored a point.' It must be observed, I insist, that under high tariff the great advancement of the country was made. Besides, to reduce these duties on imported articles would be simply to place our foreign competitors side by side with us in our own market, with all the rights and advantages of competition. Yes, you say, for the sake of cheapening a few articles of necessity, you would permit the foreign producer to put his goods on our market at so low a duty as to enable him to compete with home productions. This is strange philosophy; and yet, without having thought much of the question, until Robert led me to it, I was foolish enough to support by my vote your views. But my eyes are opened! I now see clearly where I have been wrong. I call upon you, Robert, to confirm the statement that wages have been higher in this country under a high tariff than a low tariff."

"But you must remember," said Mary, the statistician of the family, "that this has been true at times, but at others not, and has always increased expenses of living; and that in older countries—for instance, France and Germany, where a high tariff prevails—wages are lower than in England, where trade is comparatively free! The United States is young as yet, and bases of calculation and comparison may be more consistently made of peoples of similar ages, location and condition, and countries old enough to afford a more thorough test of these economic questions."

"My daughter, you reason like a skilled politician," said her father; "but you are out of the way in regard to wages, because our conditions are not like those of any other country; and you are also badly mistaken if

you think that all our interests do not need protection. Why, I read from a reliable newspaper the other day that a petition from Vermont farmers was sent to the Senate asking that the duties on some farm products be increased to stop the importation of foreign farm products which undersold their own in our markets. What will you say to this?"

"Oh! you use exceptions, do you? Nothing could better illustrate your defenseless position," said Mary.

"How do you like the exception," retorted the father, "of from 500,000 to nearly 9,000,000 bushels of potatoes per year, and in some years over 1,000,000 bushels of beans and peas of foreign production poured into our Eastern markets?"

"There you go with your exceptions, as if they proved anything. You forget that the American people can afford to import what they actually need to supply the shrinkage in home production without in the slightest degree endangering home markets or robbing labor of its full reward. It is this very thing which you use as an example that proves the fallacy of such a reason as you claim for protection. Protection increases the burden in every relation of labor, and the poor sufferers endure it because they would not offend their employers and their political friends by opposing it. We might discuss this question indefinitely without arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, as our minds seem to be made up beyond any idea of change. Thus the two dominant political parties of to-day are warring with each other upon this subject, the settlement of which must require study and full fairness. I do not give in, however, nor have my brothers. They are fully agreed with me, and I am confident that we will fully prove our case. But I

must say, father, that your doctrine is not that of the philanthropist you used to be so fond of preaching. You will yet return to your former views, unless I am much mistaken."

"Never, my girl, never! I am now sure of the position I take, and intend to hold on to it at every cost."

There, for the present, the discussion rested, to be resumed under sadly changed and deplorable circumstances. Mr. Harrison, while strictly conservative in a business to which he had given the greater portion of a lifetime, now undertook various systems of speculation. From having been as a manufacturer successful, he, as a speculator, became a failure. Embarking his capital largely in certain ventures with the control of which he was almost wholly unacquainted, he soon began to experience defeat and discomfiture. He was led on step by step by the will-o'-the-wisp beckonings that finally engulfed him in a well-nigh hopeless despair. Among his most extensive investments were a cattle ranch in Texas, and mining property in Colorado and Nevada. He had been taught by his super-sanguine friends to believe that capital should not be idle, but be placed where it could the more quickly accumulate additional capital. He followed, too, his own ambitious schemes, which, as he grew richer, began to form and take deep root in his mind. He must leave his children equally rich when he died, he reasoned; and the time came when, having decided to act, he plunged into the most hazardous speculations that, for him, might be conceived. The severe drains upon his working capital, which he was compelled from time to time to make to support his outside investments, began to tell upon his manufacturing business. He had to trust to ill-chosen managers, who systematically and persistently

robbed him. The crash finally came, and his enormous wealth was wrested from him. Absolutely nothing was left but the old homestead where he was born and reared to habits of industry and economy. His greatest friend in this sudden and heart-rending trouble was his daughter Mary, who evinced a fortitude and sympathy equal to the trying emergency. The family removed to the old farm, taking with them but few of the many articles of luxury they had enjoyed in their former elegant home. Sustained and soothed by Mary, who, as a ministering angel, brought sunshine and peace to the humble cottage of her stricken parents, they soon began to take comfort. Mr. Harrison, with the assistance of his sons, ineffectual and unskilled though it was, still managed by dint of the strictest economy to secure some of the comforts and conveniences of life. But his paths were stony and rough, and obstacles were often interposed that it required all of his courage to overcome. We find our worthy manufacturer again a farmer. The principles of economy, rendered imperative by his changed and impoverished condition, naturally suggested the discussions on taxations and markets, and he began again to consider their features as they applied to the farmer and the laboring classes. Mary eagerly embraced the opportunity of returning to the consideration of a subject, the discussion of which would serve in some measure to lead her father's attention from his poignant sufferings. The poor mother, never very strong, nor able to dispel gloomy fancies and forebodings, retired early each evening to her room to muse her melancholy and deplore the sad situation of her family. The rugged nature of her husband, however, sustained him, and, with Mary's gentle

support, his tottering footsteps were directed to a present hope and faith in the wisdom of Providence.

"I hope I have not incurred my children's contempt," he would sometimes say to Mary.

"Oh, father, how *can* you say such things? Your children are now grown and educated, and enabled to do for themselves and to smooth your declining path. What have you not done for them? Are they not grateful for it all? They would be indeed unworthy subjects of God's blessings were they to encourage for a moment so undutiful a sentiment. Perhaps the scale of fortune may yet turn in your favor. I know it is very unsatisfactory in your old age to be thus returned to a life of labor and the deprivation of comforts and luxuries so pleasing to a father who values the appreciation of his family for what he is able to provide. But you must not think that your children are such slaves of a luxurious ease as to indulge for a moment the thought that their father had robbed them of what would have been their heritage. We are naturally more comfortable than when in our splendid home in town. We were there the devotees of a blind and vainglorious admiration of unreal and unworthy objects. We did not consider the distresses of the poor, because we could not perfectly or adequately understand them; but now, in our altered condition, we can sympathize, and sympathy is a ready teacher. When we needed anything in our former life, it was money that came to the rescue; now labor must supply it. We did not stop to think that for diamonds and jewelry we were then able to buy we paid less duty than did the poor man for the clothes and other necessities for himself and family. I have been reading upon that subject, and will illustrate what I have just said. For instance, women's

and children's dress goods and other articles of like description must pay for all goods worth over twenty cents, or weighing over four ounces per square yard, a duty of twenty-five cents per pound and forty per cent. besides—and these are necessities. On the other hand, the rich woman's finest and best silks are taxed but sixty per cent. of their value, and lately the duty on hatter's plush of silk has been reduced from sixty to twenty-five per cent. Farmers' protection is nothing but in name, while their markets are confined to home largely, and, with all workingmen, their living expenses are much increased. Though the nation gets rich, these classes descend. Further to illustrate the difference in favor of the rich, jewelry of all kinds pays a duty of twenty-five per cent., but the cheapest flannels and blankets are taxed ten cents per pound and thirty-five per cent. of their value besides; precious stones of all kinds, if not set, are taxed but ten per cent.; amber beads are free of duty; alabaster and spar statuary and ornaments, ten per cent.; and ottar of roses is free; while the working-woman must pay from twenty-five to thirty-five per cent. for her sewing, knitting, darning, and sewing-machine needles. Pins and baskets pay thirty per cent.; earthenware, from twenty-five to sixty per cent.; cream of tartar, six cents per pound; combs and clocks pay thirty per cent.; flax bags and bagging and twine, forty per cent., etc. These are but a few examples, and they carry their own morals. I am ashamed of my country for such unjustifiable discriminations. Our ability to apply these illustrations presents them in a much clearer light, and I feel sure, father, that you now begin to understand what in our former position would have been ever impossible."

The father was much moved by his daughter's apt and

ready dealing with these questions, which had puzzled them all no little. The light began to fall in upon his hitherto prejudiced mind, as was also the case of the son, who had first controlled the father's opinions. The stubborn nature of the father, however, led him for some time to rebel, and it was only after repeated and long continued arguments that he reached a satisfactory conclusion. The three sons of the farmer, though bred in the lap of fortune, embraced the invigorating and healthful occupations of the farm with an avidity incompatible with their former aspirations; and Mary, the comforter and patient sharer in all troubles and anxieties, was charmed with the simplicity and the unartificial pleasures she now enjoyed. Flowers that bloomed in heaven's sunlight and birds that sang in the tree-tops with tireless freedom were greater enjoyments to her than had been their possessions in her town life.

In a short time all of the three sons found profitable employment in town, and were banded together to retrieve, as far as might be, the father's losses; while Mary remained at home, the cherished idol of her father, and her mother's comfort in times of trouble. But such beauty could not long bloom alone. She was surprised amid her rural employments one day by a visit from a much prized friend of former days. She had looked upon him, not in the light of an admirer, but as one who delighted in her presence while it reflected the glitter of her father's gold. But the sequel proved her mistake. Henry Arlington was not of that sordid mould that requires mere wealth for gratification, but was an honest, honorable, noble man, who appreciated true worth, and who had come to lay his fortune at the feet of her he had loved since she was a child. Mary was made sensible of

his devotion, and yielded herself a willing bride, though deeply pained to leave home and parents. But the winds and storms that rudely blew about the old cottage were tempered by occasional bursts of heaven's own sunlight, and the family were at last blessed with true gifts, richer than gold and outlasting the fickle follies and vanities of an unstable hold upon life's favors.

By this simple story, in which the conditions of wealth and poverty have been introduced to show what have been and what may be the tendencies under them, it has been sought to prove by argument and pertinent illustrations the nature and effects of a high and a lower tariff. It has been attempted, from a few statistics therein inserted, to show what is more fully proved by statistics under other heads and in the Appendix to this work. Let its readers, therefore, resolve the problem for themselves, and derive, if it may be, instruction and advice therefrom. Figures do not lie if properly presented, but support the facts adduced in this work for the public benefit.



SONG OF THE TARIFF.

I'm the creature of circumstance, born of great need,
 Created for wants existing no more;
 The patron of wealth, the hobby of greed,
 I give to the rich what I take from the poor.
 While yet I was young, the people's domain
 From the Father of Waters stretched west to the sea
 Their heritage, why did it not so remain?
 Don't question! Truth raises her finger at me.
 On the threshold of commerce insulting I stand,
 And tribute exact for a greed that ne'er fills;
 Most partial am I, and at my command
 The millions must flow to the States of the Mills.
 In the East I have built mighty Mammon a throne,
 His scepter he sways o'er a country oppressed;
 The wealth of the nation almost does he own,
 His mortgages cover the South and the West.
 By ill-gotten power the people he plunders,
 Who forge their own chains in blind zeal misguided;
 The toiler votes tariff and blunders, yet wonders
 At the wealth he creates, so unfairly divided.
 I'm kept for the rich, and wealth in profusion
 Rewards the corruption that carries election;
 Venality reigns, and a spell of delusion
 Keeps honest men slaves for unequal protection.
 The favored rich classes upon me depend,
 For by me they get their greatest returns;
 I pose myself as the workingman's friend,
 Then rob him of half of the wages he earns.
 The gateway of traffic I've barred, and inside
 The masses must groan under capital's feet;
 The gates for the immigrant swing open wide,
 'Gainst a laboring world must the *toiler* compete.
 Two children I have, Monopoly and Trust,
 They're no longer babes, but giants of power;
 The rights of the millions they tread in the dust,
 "Protect us," they shout, and rob the same hour.
 "Protection," I cry, yet my garments conceal
 A dagger prepared for Liberty's heart;
 The land-tilling slave I grind 'neath my heel,
 He's a man without rights, and a drudge is his part.
 Truth and justice cry "shame," but wealth does not mind them,
 For it reigns o'er a land in selfishness dead;
 The proud lordly rich with their millions behind them
 Can scoff at the poor whose freedom has fled.

—Marshall De Witt in *Farmer's Voice*, Chicago.

SPECIAL EXTRACTS.

BLAINE—SCOTT—MASON.

As representing many of the principles discussed in this work, the following extracts from speeches, etc., of Messrs. Blaine of Maine, Scott of Pennsylvania, and Mason of New Jersey are thought apt and appropriate:

J. G. BLAINE—MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. CHAIRMAN—The honor of the National Government and the prosperity of the American people are alike menaced by those who demand the perpetuation of an irredeemable paper currency. For more than two years [1876] the country has been suffering from prostration in business; confidence returns but slowly; trade revives only partially; and to-day, with capital unproductive and labor unemployed, we find ourselves in the midst of an agitation respecting the medium with which business transactions shall be carried on. Until this question is definitely adjusted, it is idle to expect that full measure of prosperity to which the energies of our people and the resources of the land entitle us.

In January, 1862, with more than a half million of men in arms, with a daily expenditure of nearly two millions of dollars, the Government suddenly found itself without money. Customs yielded but little; internal taxes had not yet been levied; public credit was feeble, if not paralyzed; our armies had met with one single reverse, and nowhere with marked success, and men's minds were filled with gloom and apprehension.

The Government in this great and perilous need promptly called to its aid a power never before exercised. It authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty millions of notes, and declared

them to be a legal tender for all debts, public or private, with two exceptions. * * *

And if we coin a silver dollar of full legal tender, obviously below the current value of the gold dollar, we are opening wide our doors and inviting Europe to take our gold. And with our gold flowing out from us, we are forced to the single silver standard, and our relations with the leading commercial countries of the world are at once embarrassed and crippled.

When the administration of Washington was organized in 1789, the government which he represented did not command a single dollar of revenue. They inherited a mountain of debt from the Revolutionary struggle, they had no credit, and the only representative of value which they controlled was the vast body of public land in the Northwest Territory. But this was unavailable as a resource for present needs, and called for expenditure in the extensive surveys which were a prerequisite to sale and settlement. In addition, therefore, to every other form of poverty, the new government was burdened in the manner so expressively described as land poor, which implies the ownership of a large extent of real estate constantly calling for heavy outlay and yielding no revenue. * * *

Duties on imports obviously afforded the readiest resource, and Congress devoted itself with assiduous industry to the consideration of that form of revenue. * * *

The duties levied were exceedingly moderate, scarcely any of them above fifteen per cent., the majority not *higher* than ten.

The action of the Federal Government was a new departure of portentous magnitude, and was so recognized at home and abroad. * * *

Mr. Hamilton sustained the plan of encouraging home manufacturers by protective duties, even to the point in some instances of making those duties equivalent to prohibition. * * *

Mr. Webster's opposition to protection was based on the fact that it tended to depress commerce and curtail the profits of the carrying trade. * * *

It is maintained by free traders that under the moderate tariff prevailing from the origin of the Government to the War of 1812 the country was prosperous, and manufacturers were developing as rapidly as was desirable or healthful. Protectionists, on the other hand, aver that the duty levied in 1789 was the first of uniform application throughout all the States, and that, regardless

of its percentage, its influence and effect were demonstrably protective. * * *

When by long experiment and persistent effort England had carried her fabrics to perfection; when by the large accumulation of wealth and the force of reserved capital she could command facilities which poorer nations could not rival; when by the talent of her inventors, developed under the stimulus of large reward, she had surpassed all other countries in the magnitude and effectiveness of her machinery, she proclaimed free trade, and persuasively urged it upon all lands with which she had commercial intercourse.

There are many reforms which I should be glad to see, and which I have for many years believed in. I should be glad to see every Federal officer, however honorable, appointed for a specific period, during which he could not be removed except for cause, which cause should be specified, proved, and made matter of record.

For some years past a growing disposition has been manifested by certain states of Central and South America to refer disputes affecting great questions of international relationship and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword. It has been on several such occasions a source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country is in a large measure looked to by all the American powers as their friend and mediator. The just and impartial counsel of the President in such cases has never been withheld, and his efforts have been rewarded by the prevention of sanguinary strife or angry contention between peoples whom we regard as brethren.

SCOTT OF PENNSYLVANIA—FROM SPEECH IN CONGRESS.

I, sir, do not agree with the demagogue. I hold with the statesmen that political economy is a science; that the true principles of taxation are as definitely ascertained as are any truths not susceptible of mathematical demonstration, and that their application in any country or to any condition will produce approximately the same results. Shall the United States, with their mighty bound of nature and giant industries, shrink from the struggle for possession of the world's markets? Shall we, the teeming Republic of the great West, 60,000,000 strong, with

inventive genius keener, with labor more skilled than any other people on the globe, decline to compete for supremacy in the marts of mankind, and continue forever to trade among ourselves, under the insane delusion that we are growing rich by the process? * * *

Mr. Chairman, they are Bourbons, Bourbons all, and of the densest kind. Their faces are turned backward, not forward; they are looking through the dismal shades of the dead past, not through the glowing day of the living present. Instead of removing the barbarous artificial restraints imposed upon the natural energies of the mass of men by ignorance, rapacity, and tyranny for the benefit of the few, they deliberately propose to re-impose them, to re-enchain commerce, to re-shackle labor, and to confine the industries of sixty millions of natural traders by a system, considering the time and the conditions, far more absurd than the Chinese wall.

And this Bourbon, sir—I use the word in no offensive sense, but merely to designate the man who dwells in the political barbarisms of the past and vainly resists the enlightened progress of the present—has a theory all his own, almost as liberal as that of the Chinaman in the time of Confucius, and quite as liberal as that of the potentates of Northern Africa who blackmailed commerce and called it “tariff.” He says that no matter what this alleged science of political economy may teach, no matter what may be the experience of the rest of mankind, and especially of that obnoxious little island which manages to dominate the trade of the world, everything must necessarily be different here. Though freedom of exchange may produce the most satisfactory results elsewhere, restriction is absolutely essential here. Though elsewhere men thrive by buying cheap and selling dear, it is the reverse here. But his most remarkable assumption is that the true way to advance the interests of the industrial classes is to tax their earnings, not into the public Treasury, but into the private pockets of a favored few, monopolizing American markets under a protective tariff, and regulating both production and price by that last, most effective, and most terrible expedient in restraint of trade, the irrepressible trust.

Now, I agree with my semi-civilized friend, the Bourbon, that our situation is radically different from that of any other people on earth. But the difference does not consist in any exemption from the laws of nature, of trade, or of finance, but in the character of our free institutions, by the genius and theory of which

the people are left at liberty, each man to pursue his own happiness; that is to say, whatever may be the object of his endeavor, in his own way, and without hindrance by an intermeddling paternal government except where regulation may be imperatively necessary for the safety of the whole country. Sir, the first duties upon imports established by the Colonial Government after our independence were substantially as follows: There were few articles selected—namely, liquors, sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, molasses, and pepper. Under the head of liquors, Madeira wine, at that period of our history the beverage of the rich, and Jamaica rum, consumed by the great masses of the people of that day, covered the liquor schedule. Upon Madeira wine was imposed an import duty of twelve-ninetieths of a dollar per gallon; Jamaica rum, four-ninetieths of a dollar; Bohea tea, used by the wealthier classes, six-ninetieths of a dollar per pound; other teas, twenty-four ninetieths of a dollar; the latter being the heaviest tax imposed. Upon all other articles imported, five per cent. of their value.

When a duty of eight cents per gallon was proposed on molasses, immediately every member from Massachusetts arose and protested. It was too much; the people would never bear it. They shouted, sir, that the capital engaged in the business of distilling rum in Massachusetts out of this molasses summed up half a million of dollars. Yet it was now proposed to destroy this great industry which contributed so much to the prosperity and welfare of the nation; and with such persuasive earnestness, sir, did they plead, that the Committee of the Whole consented to lower the duty to two and a half cents per gallon. * *

The majority of the Committee on Ways and Means realize and appreciate the condition of affairs existing in the country to-day; and however desirous they might be to extend that full measure of relief to the wage-worker and the great agricultural classes of the country, to which they are so justly entitled, invested capital has its claims upon them. They appreciate the fact that during the past twenty-five years, under the present system of protected industries, immense sums of money have been invested in the various manufacturing industries of the country, and that any bill which the committee might introduce should have due regard for the capital invested in such manufactures; that it would be unwise for any great political party, having the power to do so, to at once attempt to re-adjust the conditions of to-day, which would undoubtedly cause serious

loss to those who had invested their capital under a previous condition of affairs. * * *

Protection, so called, will add no penny to the wage-worker's pay or give one day's additional labor in the year, but it will rob him out of an undue proportion of his earnings to purchase the necessities of life and keep him a trembling dependent, since the recent history of this country shows that the tendency of the protected industries is toward combination in the form of trusts, under which production is arbitrarily suspended, raising prices to the consumer and throwing the workman out of his job. Monopoly more terrible, more dangerous to the liberties of a country, more oppressive to the laborer, cannot be imagined.

THE FARMING CLASS.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in my opinion upon no class of our people do the present fiscal burdens of our country bear so heavily as upon the farming class. It is not in the power of the Government, by any policy that can be adopted, to protect the farmer in what he raises and has to sell; but the Government can impoverish and virtually pauperize him and his family by not only imposing a high duty upon everything he consumes, which is or may be imported, but also by prohibitory duties upon commodities made in this country and necessary to his comfort, which place it in the power of the home manufacturer, by combinations and trusts, to charge what he pleases for his wares. What a mockery of protection the Republican tariff of 1883 is for the farmer!

Let us suppose a case in my own State: Let us take, say, the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, located at Braddock, on the Pennsylvania Railroad, ten miles east from Pittsburgh and 478 miles from Chicago, employing a large number of men. Contiguous to these works lives an industrious farmer with a hundred acres of land.

Discouraged, but not disheartened, the farmer arises in the morning before the sun is up, hitches up his team and drives to town. He needs an iron or a steel beam for some purpose on his farm, and goes to the steel-mill to buy it; and upon asking the price is told that he can have it for 3.3 cents per pound, or at the rate of \$66 per ton; and he is further informed that 3.3 cents per pound for steel beams is the uniform price at all the steel-mills in the United States. Now, the farmer protests that 3.3 cents per pound for steel beams appears to him to be an exorbitant price; that his boy works in the steel-mill, in the beam department, and

that in figuring over the cost of making steel beams last night with his boy they could not make them out to cost more than \$29 or \$30 per ton at the mill; that \$66 per ton gave the steel works a profit of \$36 per ton, and that he thought something must be wrong; what it was he did not just understand, but yesterday he brought into town $33\frac{1}{3}$ bushels of wheat, just one ton, and he could only get 90 cents per bushel for it, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, the equivalent of \$30 per ton, and that this price did not pay him the cost of raising it; in fact, he lost money on it instead of making \$36 per ton profit, as the steel works did on the beams, to meet the interest and pay the mortgage on his farm; that he could not understand why he should be obliged to raise and sell 73 bushels of wheat, or over two tons, to enable him to purchase one ton of steel beams costing less than \$30 per ton to produce and make. * * * As to the son's wages in the mill, if he got any share of the tariff subsidy in the form of wages, it was so small as to be inappreciable and to count for practically nothing as against the prices he was made to pay for the "tariffed" necessities of life; but, considering the employer's share, and the necessities of a "protected" employer's life, he was not so surprised that the "boss," as alleged in the newspapers, could rent Cluny Castle, in Inverness-shire, Scotland, to spend his summers in; and as he believed that the net profits of Carnegie Brothers on the two items of steel rails and steel beams alone, throwing out of account all other items of their production, were, on 30,000 tons of steel beams, \$1,000,000, and on 192,998 tons of steel rails, at \$10 per ton, \$1,929,980, or a total profit on these two items alone of nearly \$3,000,000, the son, with an eye to facts and figures, declared his extreme amazement at the proposition of Carnegie Brothers to reduce wages 10 per cent., for the wage-workers of that establishment thought they might decently leave this pitiful percentage in the hands of that labor in whose name and for whose alleged benefit they receive the enormous bounty extorted from the consumers of the United States upon those two capital articles. * * *

The percentage of labor cost to the cost of production is 15.26 per cent. The percentage of labor cost to the average selling price of steel rails—namely, selling price of rails, \$37.50; labor, per ton, \$4.09—is 10.9 per cent. The present rate of \$17 per ton duty of steel rails is equal, under the present tariff, to an *ad valorem* duty of 85 per cent., an annual aggregate profit of \$21,171,760, to be divided between ten or twelve steel-rail mills in the

United States; and, sir, I am satisfied that this is not very much out of the way. * * *

Mulhall, in his "History of Prices," in referring to wages, page 127, says that the percentage of wages paid of the value of manufactures produced in the United States since 1850 was: In 1850, 23.3 per cent.; in 1860, 21.2 per cent.; in 1870, 19 per cent., and in 1880, 17.8 per cent.; and that the British operatives earn, as a rule, in wages from 30 per cent. to 33 per cent. of the value of the manufactures they produce, while in the United States the workman gets only 17.8 per cent. * * *

I will endeavor to make some approximate estimates and comparisons which this pamphlet has failed to provide. One of the members of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, Limited, admitted to me within the past month, within 200 feet of where I now stand, that a statement made by myself in the fall of 1886 was correct—namely, that he drew out of the company as dividends in one year the sum of \$1,500,000, the equivalent of \$5,000 per day for 300 days in the year, and this was but one member of the firm, with no statement of profits undivided. No intelligent business man will put the profits of this company at less than \$5,000,000 in prosperous years, and we will allow them to employ 7,500 wage-workers. * * *

I allude to natural gas. It is used at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works; but it appears that the economy of its use has not as yet enabled the proprietors to reduce the price of their product, or to add anything to the wages paid. It is, sir, the cheapest and most effective fuel ever discovered or invented by man. The world cannot show its equal.

From a practical experience of over one-third of a century in the coal mines of my State, both anthracite and bituminous, I am justified in stating that the wage-worker receives for his labor, directly and indirectly, from 70 per cent. to 85 per cent. of the selling price of the coal at the mines, as against 8 per cent. that labor receives at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, on the selling price of a ton of steel beams! The tariff does not protect the coal miner, but robs him in just so far as it increases the cost of what he consumes by the imposition of duties the Government does not need to meet its requirements. And, Mr. Chairman, if time would permit, I could submit facts in connection with the prices of labor in the various industries of this country, not confined to my own State, but in the States of Iowa and Illinois, proving beyond any question, from the pay-rolls I

could submit, that the average wages received by the wage-worker of the country outside of the protected industries show that protection does not benefit the wage-worker in the protected industries of the country.

WOOL.

If making wool free would cause the value to decline equal to the duty now imposed, which it would not in my judgment, it would show a gross loss to the 213,542 farms of \$2.60 each, or a total of \$564,598. *Per contra*, the per capita consumption of domestic and imported woolen and worsted goods, according to the census of 1880, was \$6.50, which, multiplied by five, the estimated average number in a family, would be \$32.50. Even if it did, the average flock-owner, in common with all other husbandmen, would gain more than his loss in the reduced cost of the necessities of life provided in this bill. * * *

If we go back to 1860, we find that, of our own exports and imports, American vessels carried 67 per cent. as against 33 per cent. in foreign bottoms, and that in 1882 we carried 16 per cent. as against 84 per cent. in foreign bottoms; and the Annual Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics for 1887, page 59, says: "There was a decline in the proportion of value of commodities carried in our own vessels, from 75 per cent. in 1856 to 14 per cent. in 1887. * * *

I claim that I have shown by the facts submitted that even the skilled wage-worker employed in the protected industries of the country receives no higher and often not as high wages as the wage-worker in the unprotected industries of the country. That while undue protection does not increase the wages of the wage-worker employed in the manufacturing industries of the country, it adds enormously to the cost of his living, as well as to that of the minister of the gospel, the doctor, the lawyer, the carpenter, the mason, the blacksmith, the widow, and the orphan, and that large class of our people living upon limited incomes, those too old to work; and upon no class is its effects more disastrous than upon the agricultural classes; that the home-market theory to the farmer is a fallacy; that if the census of 1880 is reliable, and that 17,392,099 of our population were engaged in the five great classes of occupations, that of the agricultural products produced and consumed in the United States would show, sir, that the farmers and those dependent upon them were consumers to the extent of 44.1 per cent. of what they produced themselves, while three classes named consumed 40.2 per cent.,

leaving only 15.7 per cent. for those engaged in manufacturing.

That the protection theory has exterminated our shipping from the seas of the world; that the tables submitted, showing how the accumulated wealth of the United States has been made between the years 1850 and 1880, demonstrates that protection to home industries had little or nothing to do with it.

MASON—FROM SERMON AT NEWTON, N. J.

Recognized worth is in itself a great reward. It is equally complimentary to the recognized and to those who recognize. Yet we owe much of what we are to those who have gone before us. Each is but a part of a great whole. No life begins and ends in the same generation. The roots of our life reach back toward the centuries as the roots of the willow turn toward the wells of water. * * * The ages have brought us something, and the possibility of more is ours. We are all heirs-apparent, and should be heirs expectant. * * * The desire of inheritance is universal. In the old Eastern world, to be disinherited was to receive the greatest curse; and the birthright, the first place in the line of inheritance, was the chief blessing. And now a rich man needs only to die to have his kin and heirs enormously increased. He is scarcely in his coffin before relations spring up like dragons' teeth all over the world. * * *

We are proud to have something which came from our fathers; it may be an old chair, or a clock which no longer counts time, but it is precious to us only because we have inherited it. We all have a dream that when we grow old and our work is done we would go back to our childhood's home and own our father's house—the old homestead—and there spend our second childhood where we were born, and die there and have our dust buried in the old burying place. * * * But the desire is not merely to inherit material goods and chattels, but something better—spiritual goods and chattels, brain and heart, ideas and loves, habits and associations, mentality and goodness. We desire to enter into the social, intellectual, and spiritual accumulations of our ancestors. What boy has ever been who did not feel prouder when he heard some one say: "How much like his father he is."

We may laugh at some of the notions of our ancestors, and call them narrow. We may boast of our progress beyond them.

But deep within us there is a positive pride that we are like them.

If we see an ancestor of intellectual or spiritual power, endowed with a sense of appreciation, we want to sit at the feet, to be an Elisha to such an Elijah, to pour water on his hand that we may have a double portion of his spirit. * * * We want the good, the enduring. The world is vastly richer to-day in everything—intellectually, materially, and spiritually—than when Solomon was wise and made gold to be as stones in the streets of Jerusalem; or when the Pharaohs built the pyramids on the sandy ridges of Egypt; or when Cyrus plundered the wealth of Crœsus; or when Roman conquerors, ravaging the world, piled its riches in Rome, and the Augustan age flashed with the wit of the learned and the eloquence of orators. * * *

There is no such thing as lost art. If Greece fails, Rome inherits—as a boy from a decrepit old man. Then she ages, and in her turn transmits to the younger world; so likewise there is no lost learning or lost goodness. But God gives not without conditions. No child can ever inherit—really inherit—anything from his natural father, unless he have the spirit of that father.

It often happens that a man's heirs are not of his natural household, but of his spiritual lineage. Suppose a rich man has sons who are not taught industry, economy, business shrewdness—money comes easy, so goes. The spirit of the father is not in them. The father dies. The will says each one of them inherits so many thousands. The world says they are rich. But the will utters a falsehood, and the world does not know what it is talking about. All the law, all the witnesses of the will, the father's formal decree, all the decisions of the courts, cannot secure that inheritance to those sons because they do not have the spirit of the father. They are idle and prodigal. In a few years God breaks that will in his higher probate. The boys are penniless, for all the money has gone to the young men who, with the spirit of that father, have become his proper heirs. The natural sons become the disinherited. The boy who was digging in the ditch or working in some subordinate position when the rich man died, has now, by divine right, become the rich man's heir. Physical connection amounts to but little unless there be a spiritual connection. A man may have great intellectual power. His children can inherit the possibility of it. The possession of the power is conditioned upon the possession of the same spirit of energy and application which characterized the father. Emi-

nent men do not always have eminent children; their children have the birthright, but often, like Esau, they sell it for a mess of pottage. So good people do not always have good children, notwithstanding the universal faith of mothers.

If the children have the spirit of thoughtfulness and faith which belongs to the fathers, they will do their good works, and enter into the eternal possession of the saints. But here, as everywhere, the sole condition of inheritance is a like spirit. There is danger in the young push of the progress of our age that the apprenticeship may be refused. Let us not touch or strike down the spirit, for the spirit is the same in all ages. It is the spirit carried on from seed to seed, which selects each season from the soil what it needs to build up the plant. So it is the spirit of all the fathers which selects in every age what is needed for the life and beauty of the church, and for the force and success of the individual life. * * * When we have received the inheritance, our responsibility is to transmit; all power is for use—we increase it by use.

Let the young step to the places of the fathers with the increase of all the generations. It is a woeful thing to have blood in our veins which has borne others on to heroic and Christ-like deeds; which has warmed hearts all filled with love to Christ, and yet be without the spirit which gives the power of the same heroic and Christ-like things.



TAXES.

The matter of taxes lies at the foundation and is the vitality of a government, as bringing the means to maintain it. Every good citizen should be willing to be assessed, and to pay his just proportion of the necessary expenses of government, so that its debts can be fully met at the proper time, even at the risk of not meeting his individual liabilities. Our people have been called upon to do this and for millions more, and have paid it to their own financial injury.

The question of how taxes should be levied has agitated the world since and before history gave account. The expenses of government in the early ages were sometimes paid by the rulers themselves from the incomes of their great estates, or from the property of the nation. The Hebrews are said to have largely supported their government by a poll tax of only thirty cents on each male, but claimed the first animal reared each year, besides a tax on the first male child of a family. A system of tithing was maintained as a benefit for the poor—particularly the Levites. The Athenians indulged in the customs duty, or tariff tax, but only to the extent of two per cent.; and in time of war the extra expenses were collected entirely from the rich, both by levy and

subscription. The masses paid no tax except the two per cent. tariff on their purchases, of which the major part were ignorant. In this their rulers showed more cunning than did the Roman government until the Middle Ages, when the Venetians imposed heavy duties on both necessities and luxuries. Prior to the French Revolution the nobility and clergy of France, known as the privileged classes, paid no taxes whatever; and the finances of England were so depressed that the revenues did not meet the necessary expenses of government. In Asia many instances have occurred of prosperity and population being entirely wiped out by excessive taxation. After fully a score of distinct methods have been employed, the better method should certainly have developed at this age of the world. That the old-time ways are still in vogue is most surely true. Income tax, succession tax, stamp tax on luxuries, and levies which cover alike all kinds of property, and search closely for it, though the fairest of all ways, are virtually abandoned by the government. We find a reason as clear as the noon-day sun in the following statement: "Even in the most civilized countries, precisely those classes who have enjoyed the largest revenue, and presumptively been most able to contribute to the support of government, have been exempted altogether." This is from one of our ablest and most disinterested works. The following is from one of the shrewdest leaders this country has known, and was lately strongly endorsed by a follower, equally as crafty and mercenary toward the working classes: "He is the foremost financier in this country who understands that it is easier to collect *ten* dollars by an indirect tax than to collect *one* dollar by direct levy." The highest principles of modern European finance are, first, to

impose as high a duty as is consistent with the prosperity of the revenue on such articles of voluntary consumption as may be dispensed with and may be taken in excess; of these the most notable are alcoholic liquors and tobacco. Second, to abandon taxation on all articles which are used for manufacture or food—the last tax of the latter kind which was abolished was that on sugar. Third, to levy the lowest duties possible, consistent with revenue purposes, on articles of necessity and of voluntary consumption and wholly innocent use, of which the best type is tea. The stamp and income taxes are reserved to meet emergencies. It has been shrewdly said: “When taxes are laid indirect, one of their chief advantages is supposed to be that they are paid *by the people* without their being aware at the time that they are paying taxes at all, or that what they pay in price includes a tax.” It *may* be better! that one does not know it when his farm or his store is being depleted nightly by a thief. He may save the annoyance and grief at the losses, but his granaries and stock will diminish much more rapidly, for the thief will be encouraged instead of being checked or stopped. It is well understood that the rich, who figure closely, and have time to think, know the results of this indirect tax, but “by the people” means that the masses who labor from eight to sixteen hours per day, six to seven days in the week, fifty-two weeks in the year, and from youth to old age, *do not* know that *indirect tax means that they pay as much of it as the wealthiest gentleman or nabob in the land, each one of them.* Many of them have large families, hence they pay more. Many of the wealthy, in their trips to Canada or Europe, buy their clothing there, and various other articles, thus avoiding almost entirely this *indirect tax*.

Indirect taxes mean covert, sleight-of-hand, pick-pocket extortion—throwing the burdens on those least able to bear them. They are like indirect men—straight-faced, but crooked-purposed, with deceitful tongue, well oiled; generally a mountebank or trickster, and unreliable in business. They mean rascality, and consummate what they mean—riches to one out of the pockets of those they leave bare. In America it also means an unnatural revolution and the upsetting of the laws of nature, so guided as to come out “heads I win and tails you lose,” or tails and buzzard, every time for the American farmer, artisan; and brawny laborer. These are the men who are the pillars of the land; who have made it what it is; feed, clothe, and serve its population; fight its battles; build its temples, homes, and business marts; and whose families even know not much of rest. Shall they go, as the old world’s workers have gone, to tenantry, peasantry, serfdom; or will their sense, pride, and education assert themselves and make a *self*-deliverance? They alone can do it. These and previous questions will be further discussed and statements backed by reliable statistics given in their proper order.

Great objections are made to the honest, fair, and simple direct tax for the support of the government—such as evasions, etc. These objections are generally made by those who are able to pay it, hence would have it to pay, and who generally do the evading themselves. State, county, town, and school expenses and debts, are paid this way, and why not those of the nation! This proposition is so clear and so thoroughly proved that argument and evidence are time and space wasted. One-half of the money wasted on extra officials in custom-houses, which do not collect the salaries of the officers, and on

prevention and detection of smuggling, would, if used in prevention of direct tax evasions, let no guilty man escape, or property go free of paying for its protection and benefits. This is the tax for the masses—the great producing people. It would be a true, real, and fair protection to them, and not one which makes each poor family pay more in support of the government than a rich one, as now prevails. Next to this would be the succession tax or the appropriation by the government of a percentage of the larger estates of deceased persons.



TRUSTS.

Under this head are included such institutions and employments of capital and business as have been by many good and very wise people considered to have the ultimate effect of cheapening labor and increasing living expenses for the benefit of monopoly. Viewed in this sense, trusts are of dangerous import. Trusts for protection from monopoly sound better to the ear, and would be more liable to suit all classes of labor in their proper management; but such corporations or leagues of capital as look to placing greater burdens upon labor should be weeded out as noxious growths in the fields of our national economy. Trusts, the twins of monopolies—they come into closer relationship, and depend largely for sustenance upon the influences of monopoly—partake in great measure of their damaging tendencies. It has been seen how the vast aggregations of capital, now so characteristic of this country, have been more particularly injurious to wage-workers. Considered in a similar sense, trusts seem to be rather evils to be avoided than benefits to be enjoyed by the people at large. These secret devices for running up prices to the detriment of those who must buy, and reducing net prices of labor and farm products under their control, are more detestable than are pools, corners, or bucket-shops. Their chief ends and aims are to continually secure large profits, or rather

plunder, by holding up prices until they choose to sell, which is always on an advanced market, and at prices within the easy reach of speculators and capitalists only. Unlike other species of monopoly openly conducted, trusts are secret organizations, and the doors to the thorough investigation of their workings are closed to the public gaze. They have come into existence like mushrooms, but without even the flavor which attaches to those useful articles of vegetable food. They thrive upon the credulities of the public, and depend upon misrepresentation and fraud. History pronounces the Mortmain trusts of England in the time of Charles II. as conceived and executed in fraud, and no better word can be applied to these vast sponges which absorb the hard-earned dollars of needy laborers. Nothing can equal the avidity and rapacity with which they seize upon the various articles of speculation embraced in the category of their perpetrations. They scheme for plunder as if it were necessary to place every article of human necessity upon their list and render them the factors of their nefarious transactions. They fasten, like the leeches they are, upon everything that offers a profit. They build foundations that the completed structures of their ambitions may rest in entire security, and hedge themselves about with secret protection and a masked front. They are among the shoals and quicksands upon which are wrecked the precious argosies of human lives which are guided by the hands of labor. To fatten and grow rich upon wreckage is their object. But their days are numbered if the people will abolish them. They should go as among the worst and most devastating enemies of the common country and its peaceful, honest, and beneficial institutions.

That these trusts, which is but another name for mo-

nopolies, have raised the prices of sugar, flour, salt, coffee, tobacco, bags and bagging, carpets, hardware, clothing, and other things termed necessities, is too evident to all purchasers to need any proof. That they have throttled competition, which is the only safeguard against extortion and general subserviency, in many lines and more following, is also equally plain.

The question of their dethronement and destruction is of more importance than that of their origin. In view, however, of the old adage which advises the detection and purification of the fountain head, it is well first to analyze the cause and support of these parasites. First, it is conceded, is the greed for gold which characterizes so many Americans, and which, so far, has been too much encouraged and too little rebuked. The second cause and continued reason for them, except in a few limited productions, is the confining of competition to this country, done by the high customs duties. This is equal to and more unnatural and absurd than the first, because made and tolerated by the sufferers. It is one of the simplest things to know that if a buyer or seller is limited in his purchases and sales to only one market, the sellers and buyers in that market will know the fact, and as naturally take due advantage of it in prices and inferior goods.

As a remedy for these covert robbers of both producers and consumers, many schemes have been devised, such as boycotting, producing the products in the penitentiaries, and by statute laws. Like for the cause, it is probably nearer the mark to turn to the fountain head for a remedy. Thought among farmers, mechanics, and laborers generally will bring intelligence. Intelligence will kill prejudice and show the true cause and support of trusts and combinations; also show that these classes in the near

end bear all the loss which makes the gain to the conspirators, and that a united action is the only thing that will break down and root out these oppressive, unjust alliances. Effective warfare cannot be made on any enemy unless systematic and continuous. Laws cannot well be passed, nor enforced when made, unless there be authorized parties to attend to such duties. Such united action will not be possible until the sufferers think and get rightly informed; lay aside partisan prejudice, and combine business with great production. The lack of a business organization and understanding among farmers particularly, is costing them to-day not less than an average of four hundred dollars per year for each farmer and family, and fully half as much more for each wage-worker. The present situation is draining them both ways—by making their products worth less and their purchases cost one-half more.

In the movement of enacting laws to make trusts illegal, the new State of Texas has taken the strongest step in advance. Her law, for a beginning, is quite conclusive, and is here given in full:

[S. H. Bs. Nos. 9, 117, 136, 192, and 313.] An act to define trusts, and to provide for penalties and punishment of corporations, persons, firms, and associations of persons connected with them, and to promote free competition in the State of Texas.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Texas:* That a Trust is a combination of capital, skill, or acts by two or more persons, firms, corporations, or associations of persons, or of either two or more of them for either, any, or all of the following purposes: First—*To create or carry out restrictions in trade.* Second—*To limit or reduce the production, or increase or reduce the price of merchandise or commodities.* Third—*To prevent competition in manufacture, making, transportation, sale or purchase of merchandise, produce, or commodities.* Fourth—*To fix at any standard or figure, whereby its price to the public shall be in any manner controlled or estab-*

lished, any article or commodity of merchandise, produce, or commerce intended for sale, use, or consumption in this State. Fifth—To make or enter into, or execute or carry out any contract, obligation, or agreement of any kind or description by which they shall bind or have bound themselves *not to sell, dispose of*, or transport any article or commodity, or article of trade, use, merchandise, commerce, or consumption *below a common standard figure*, or by which they shall agree in any manner to keep the price of such article, commodity, or transportation at a fixed or graduated figure, or by which they shall in any manner *establish or settle the price* of any article or commodity or transportation between them or themselves or others *to preclude a free and unrestricted competition* among themselves or others in the sale or transportation of any such article or commodity, or by which they shall agree to pool, combine, or unite any interest they may have in connection with the sale or transportation of any such article or commodity that its price might in any manner be affected.

SEC. 2. That any corporation holding a charter under the laws of the State of Texas which shall violate any of the provisions of this act shall thereby forfeit its charter and franchises, and its corporate existence shall cease and terminate.

SEC. 3. For a violation of any of the provisions of this act by any corporation mentioned herein, it shall be the duty of the attorney-general or district or county attorney, or either of them, upon his own motion, and without leave or order of any court or judge, to institute suit or quo warranto proceedings in Travis County, at Austin, or at the county seat of any county in the State, where such corporation exists, does business, or may have a domicile, for the forfeiture of its charter rights and franchise, and the dissolution of its corporate existence.

SEC. 4. *Every foreign corporation* violating any of the provisions of this act is hereby denied the right and *prohibited from doing any business within this State*, and it shall be the duty of the attorney-general to enforce this provision by injunction or other proper proceedings in the district court of Travis County, in the name of the State of Texas.

SEC. 5. That the provisions of Chapter 48, General Laws of this State, approved July 9, 1879, to prescribe the remedy and regulate the proceedings by quo warranto, etc., shall, except in so far as they may conflict herewith, govern and control the proceedings when instituted to forfeit any charter under this act.

SEC. 6. Any violation of either or all the provisions of this act shall be and is hereby declared a *conspiracy against trade*, and any person who may be or may become engaged in any such conspiracy or take part therein, or aid or advise in its commission, or who shall, as *principal, manager, director, agent, servant, or employe*, or in any other capacity, knowingly carry out any of the stipulations, purposes, prices, rates, or orders thereunder or in pursuance thereof, shall be punished *by fine* of not less than fifty dollars nor more than five thousand dollars, and *by imprisonment* in the penitentiary not less than one nor more than ten years, or by either such fine or imprisonment. Each day during a violation of this provision shall constitute a separate offense.

SEC. 7. In any indictment for an offense named in this act it is sufficient to state the purposes or effects of the trust or combination, and *that the accused was a member of*, acted with or in pursuance of it, without giving its name or description, or how, when, or where it was created.

SEC. 8. In prosecutions under this act it shall be sufficient to prove that a trust or combination as defined herein exists, and that the *defendant belonged to it or acted for or in connection* with it, without proving all the members belonging to it, or providing or producing any article of agreement or any written instrument on which it may have been based, or that it was evidenced by any written instrument at all. The character of the trust or combination alleged may be established by proof of its *general reputation* as such.

SEC. 9. Persons out of the State may commit and be liable to indictment and conviction for committing any of the offenses enumerated in this act which do not in their commission necessarily require a personal presence in this State, the object being to reach and punish all persons offending against its provisions whether within or without the State.

SEC. 10. Each and every person, corporation, or association of persons, who shall in any manner violate any of the provisions of this act, shall for each and every day that such violation shall be committed or continued forfeit and pay the sum of fifty dollars, which may be recovered in name of State in any county where the offense is committed or where either of the offenders reside, or in Travis County, and it shall be the duty of the attorney-general or the district or county attorney to prosecute for and recover the same.

SEC. 11. That any contract or agreement in violation of the

provisions of this act shall be absolutely void and not enforceable either in law or equity.

SEC. 12. That the provisions hereof shall be held cumulative of each other and of all other laws in any way affecting them now in force in this State.

SEC. 13. The provisions of this act shall not apply to agricultural products or live stock while in the hands of the producer or raiser.

SEC. 14. Whereas the people of this State are without a remedy against Trusts, therefore an emergency and imperative public necessity exists requiring that the constitutional rule which requires that all bills shall be read on three several days be suspended, and that this act take effect from and after its passage, and it is so enacted.

Approved March 30, 1889.

It will not be *healthy* for Trust members or their agents in Texas hereafter. Other States are also passing similar laws. Doubtless temporary relief, but not permanent cure.

The first Senate committee to investigate trusts in its State was that of the State of New York, which, in pursuance of a resolution, reported March 6, 1888, as follows: "The varied interests affected by such resolution; the almost limitless amount of capital represented by the combinations of which complaint was made; the numerous industries in every part of the State and nation under their absolute control; the vast amount of their capital stock, aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars, a part of which has been placed on the market, and is held by parties in good faith, and the allegation freely made that such combinations annihilated competition, raised prices, injured labor, and were in fact a great, powerful, and, in some respects, a novel force in the State, incapable of generous rivalry and often independent of law, made the duty of your committee one of great labor and complexity, so that it commenced its work deeply impressed with

the gravity and delicacy of the task which was given it to do."

"The chief subjects of inquiry were the Sugar, the Milk, Rubber, Cotton Seed Oil, Envelope, Elevator, Oil Cloth, Standard Oil, Butchers', Glass, and Furniture Trusts."

"The combination known as the Sugar Trust has a capital, of stock certificates, of \$45,000,000, owned by eight refineries. 'The Sugar Refineries Company' holds these shares as Trustee for the benefit of all members, for which it gives them stock certificates in amount at least four times the nominal value of the stock surrendered to them."

"The Sugar Refineries Company 'recommends' when a refinery shall shut down and when it shall run; but, work or idle, it receives its share of the general earnings. It can greatly affect, and, for a time at least, control at once the price of the raw material and of the refined product, without regard to the interest of the consumer."

The Cotton Seed Oil Trust embraces about seventy corporations in various States of the Union, and the value of its product from May, 1886, to May, 1887, was about \$24,000,000. In two years it raised the price of its products so as to increase the income \$2,500,000 above the former yearly amounts, the price averaging in 1885-6, 35¾ cents, and in 1887-8, 43 2-5 cents per gallon—now 49 cents.

The Milk Exchange or Trust has the effect of reducing the price of milk paid the farmers to an average of two and one-half cents per quart, and of raising it to consumers to an average of seven and one-half cents.

"The Standard Oil Trust is the original one, and its

success has been the incentive to the formation of others which spread like a disease."

"It was organized in 1882 by about fifty persons, with its principal office in New York City." "The trust instrument made provision for taking in new corporations—and all to be controlled by nine trustees. The Standard Oil Company's stock was paying $13\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on \$70,000,000, which was raised to \$90,000,000; and the actual value of the trust's present property is not less than \$148,000,000, according to the testimony of its president before the committee, and all in the control of nine active men. Its influence reaches into every State. Its property has more than doubled in value in six years, besides paying over \$50,000,000 in dividends."

"This is their own report, and no one appeared against them to bring out full facts; the committee was also limited as to time and conveniences, but the officers of the Trust admitted that its wealth and business enabled it to obtain better freight rates than its poorer competitors." "Their claim, as in the Sugar and other Trusts, that they have not raised prices, does not agree with facts; for, since coal and kerosene oils have been discovered, it is a well-known fact that there has been a constant diminution of price to both producer and consumer, entirely owing to the widening field and increased volume of production. Thirty years ago a small phial of it sold for two dollars, and it has since sold at the well as low as thirty cents a barrel." "These Trusts buy up or destroy all competition, and the public, as seller or buyer, is at their mercy. But they claim they bring money from distant States to New York to add to her wealth and prosperity." For this latter reason, and probably from large amounts of corruption money at election,

the political character of the New York Senate was changed, and the new committee has, with Mr. Blaine, reported lately that "Trusts are *private* affairs;" hence no action has been taken against them. No sane man doubts their results being *public* robbery. The first report further says: "The little combinations that fill every avenue of trade, carry out the same purpose on a smaller scale, and levy toll on even bread, meat, and milk. Their name is Legion."

"The Upholsterers, the Lead, the Pencil, Cartridge, Watch, Carpet, Clothes Wringer, Nail, Cordage, Undertakers and Coffin Makers, Planes, Brewers, Plated Ware, Steel Rail, and Hog Slaughter Trusts are but a few of the many." They are generally bound by the following conditions: "The object of this condition is to secure the jobbers against the fear of competitors underselling them, as the manufacturers are pledged in such cases not only to disallow the second rebate of five per cent., but to decline further orders from the houses known to sell goods under the established price."

The midnight marauder has some traits possibly redeemable—as daring—but he who extorts "legally" by force from the poor laboring man and suffering family, and the poorer wash-woman, can have absolutely none. There seems no remedy but for every sufferer who can vote to use every effort to overthrow any party or candidate not firmly pledged to make these Trusts criminal under the law, and have the law enforced to the letter and spirit, combined with a lowering tariff.

An esteemed farm journal, of Chicago, quotes this remark of an experienced Pennsylvania oil man about the Standard Oil Co., "You can never stop these bosses except with a shot-gun;" also the following from a late issue of

the *Chicago Tribune*, in substance: "The Standard Oil Co. scattered circulars on June 11th to induce a run on the Fidelity Bank, of Cincinnati. Its collapse made them much money, and enabled them to weaken the Cotton Seed Oil Trust and thus aid in their ultimate ownership of it." It then goes on to repeat that "certain persons joined in interest with the Standard Oil Trust had been convicted of conspiring to burn up the factory of a concern that could not be forced to yield to the great trust, which said persons were fined the paltry sum of \$250 for this high crime," and concludes with these strong terms: "Americans! Beware of these Trust Brigands. They control thousands of millions of dollars, and will gladly buy chains to enslave the people. The time is close at hand when you must crush their power, or with deadly certainty they will crush yours. This is an inevitable issue; you cannot shirk it if you would. Beware, trust desperadoes. Beware of the invisible workings of God's hand which foolish men call accidents. Beware, for hemp still grows." The better and sufficient remedy lies in removing bars to competition and enacting laws to make them criminal, and then enforcing the laws to the letter.

The following is evidently from a clear-headed farmer, addressed to the farmers: "Your wheat ripens; the milling trusts and elevators lower the price until they get control of it, and then at once the price is advanced against the consumer. The pork packers note the time of the maturing of your hogs, and their selling price becomes a cent per pound under value. Please compare also the sale price of corn and the cost of its breadstuffs. Figure these and kindred comparisons, for you are rich enough to afford fences and useless interest and have

plenty of time. The Cattle Trust could say to-morrow to every feeder in the land, 'We want your cattle at two cents per pound,' and you are powerless to get more. All of these trusts are formed, and more are continually forming, because they find you so pliant, so indifferent, and so rich as to freely contribute millions to them yearly. Capital is organized; you are indifferent, and while you sleep it wrests from you some valuable franchise. I trace and lay at the doors of our tariff legislation and our wants of economic legislation the demoralized condition of our markets and the existing low prices of our cattle and cereals, and predict if the present policy is continued agricultural paupers in the United States will envy those of Europe."



TRANSPORTATION.

In the matter of transportation, the railroad has so far surpassed all other means, especially for business purposes, that it claims chief consideration. Being the most important system, and fast growing to a kingly hold, it is mainly the object of speculation, desire, and greed. From the wooden rails of 1672, the railroad rose in improvement to iron rails in 1738, with horses for power. From that date until 1784 the principal advances were in improving rails and fastenings. Then came the idea of steam power, although it was 1804 before a locomotive was brought into use, and ten years later it attained a speed of near seven miles an hour. It remained for Stephenson and Booth to advance the rate of speed to thirty-five miles per hour, which was accomplished in 1839. The highest rate for any distance of account attained to the present time is about seventy-five miles per hour. In 1830 some "old foggy" Englishman thought to supersede the locomotive with stationary engines as a power supply; but the moving body was the one to succeed, though the weight of the engine has frequently been increased to over fifty tons. The gauge of track, starting at four feet, was raised to seven, but has dropped back to four feet eight and a half inches, which is now known as standard gauge in railway construction. The first American railroad, built in 1826, was but four miles long, and cost

about \$50,000; but our inventive genius has so improved that we find them bonded and stocked for over \$60,000 per mile at the present day in the United States. Much over one hundred million dollars has been paid as dividends on the stock, and at least one hundred and fifty millions more as interest on the bonded debts. Salaries to presidents, vice-presidents, general managers, attorneys and others ranging from ten to thirty thousand dollars per year each, and other enormous secret profits are resulting in and from extravagant charges. The Union Pacific Company reported in bonds and stocks an indebtedness of \$113,110 per mile—ending at Ogden—and the average cost was but \$35,000—thus gobbling over thirty millions, through Congress, from the Government in construction alone. The Government Director reported to the Interior Department the actual facts and exposed the swindle. Though he did no more than his duty, the workers of the country owe a debt of gratitude to the Hon. Jesse L. Williams, of Cincinnati. But for this instance, the actual average cost of any American railroad might never have been known by the people, who really more than build, then support them, besides paying the above named dividends, interest, and other profits. On the other hand, much money has been lost—even fortunes sunk—in building railroads which have since been largely paying properties to those who succeeded as owners at scaled or foreclosed prices, or by pooling combinations.

While much complaint has justly been made in reference to the rates for service which are made to cover exorbitant and dishonest indebtedness and expenses, yet more unfair and harder have been the discriminations for some and against other patrons who were bound to deal with them; also the collusion and partnership of

officials with favored parties in freight rates, thus ruining competitors in business. Railroads, in building particularly, have claimed and received special powers and protection by our laws, such as the right to build through any lands or lots, be they ever so choice; to occupy whole premises for yards and shops, and ability to collect extra fare from those failing to purchase tickets, etc. But they are beginning to regard a reciprocation of power as just—at least, as unavoidable. If they be chartered creations of the law, they must be subject to the law. They are bound by law to carry any person applying, or any freight not hazardous to life and property; they must carry safely and in reasonable time (except damage and delay by act of Providence or war), or be liable for accruing damage, unless there be a contract of release of liability known and agreed to by both parties, or where the party receiving service takes it upon himself by assuming full charge. The transporters often have advantages of release by showing due diligence and care. Their liability begins at delivery into their hands, and ends when the passenger is landed or the freight held in warehouse, at destination, a reasonable time. They are bound to furnish proper and suitable means and vehicles, exercise great care and vigilance, and use the most approved appliances. They are often liable for incidental as well as direct *damages*, and often brow-beat the claimant from receiving any. In these restraints and demands the railroad, steamboat, stage-coach, and dray stand equal and alike, though the latter named do not receive the special rights which the first enjoys.

The United States is becoming a perfect net-work of railroads; and wherever they penetrate, cities, towns, villages, and hamlets spring into existence like magic. The

rapidity of their construction, rendered possible by the vast sums in subsidies voted them, and the vast amounts of capital embarked in them, is remarkable, and contributes in an overwhelming ratio to the growth and prosperity of the common country.

In 1887 California was credited with 425 miles, as against nearly 600 miles in 1888. Georgia almost doubled her mileage of construction of 1887. At the West, Kansas takes the lead with more than 600 miles. This State has, during the past four years, had constructed 4,525 miles of railroad, which represents about 14 per cent. of the total mileage for the entire country within that time. At the close of 1887, as reported by Poor's Manual of Railroads, the railway mileage of the United States was given as 149,913 miles. Assuming that the mileage for 1888 reached 7,000 miles, the total mileage for the whole country at the close of 1888 aggregated 156,913 miles. From 1879, with a record of railway mileage of 86,463, it had increased in 1888 to 156,913—or over 81 per cent. At this rate, with our rapidly increasing wealth, it may easily be seen how much more extended railway mileage will become in the near future. It is to be hoped that a reform in their future management and an equitable restraint on their rates may be effected so that they may remunerate those who have kindly assisted them, those who have experienced their extortions, and all those who have relied on honorable dealing, in investments, etc. Should their extravagance in building, bonding, and charges continue, the great voting majority, when they rise to throw off ruinous, indirect taxes, pools, trusts, secret price combines by dealers, and indirect money issues, may order the Government to build a number of competing railroad lines, and to operate them. They have the power, and may find it out.

Union is Strength.

In emerging from a great revolution which established their Declaration of Independence, the thirteen original States found themselves without the form of government, which, in their situation, demanded immediate establishment. From 1765 and during the war the sole control of the revolutionary States was vested in the Congress. This body was originally composed of twenty-eight delegates representing nine out of thirteen colonies, who uttered a statement of grievances and a declaration of rights. The passage of an act by the British Parliament in 1765 providing for the collection of stamp duties from the American colonies was openly resisted by uprisings of the people. Although what is known as the "Stamp Act" was in 1766 repealed, the principle of colonial taxation was not abolished. In 1773 the stamp duties were further repealed, except the collection of three pence per pound on tea. It now became a question of principle, and the people in the various sections of the country under British dominion decided not to pay the tax, denying the right of the mother country to impose it because they themselves were denied the right of representation. The outbreak of the people of Boston in throwing overboard from the ships in their harbor the tea upon which they were expected to pay a tax, determined England to collect it at all hazards, and enforce the government of the

American colonies by quartering upon them 10,000 British soldiers. The battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, followed, and opened the American revolution, which, after eight years of bloodshed and untold sufferings, led to the recognition of the independence of the United States of America. The delegates representing the States engaged in the war of independence were assembled at its close, by the peace concluded September 3, 1783, to deliberate upon and adopt a form of government best calculated to promote the true interests and highest welfare and happiness of the people. A Constitution was framed, and in 1787 ratified, as it now stands, except the amendments since found necessary and therein introduced as arranged for in its provisions. As has been shown under the head of "Constitutional Provisions," the grand principle of its construction and its groundwork was the Union of the States. It was cemented by the blood and lofty patriotism of our forefathers, who under this, as their last will and testament, made their descendants heirs in common of the nucleus from which has grown our noble and grand Republic. Under this form of government the States were admitted into the Union, upon equal terms, with all the rights and privileges of civil and political liberty.

There is no man to-day of sound mind in this country, and who is a lover of freedom, who does not recognize and respect the value of Union. The strength in Union is illustrated by the example of a father, in history, who taught his sons that by extracting the sticks singly from a bundle of them he could break them all, whereas in the bundle together they could not be broken. "United we stand, divided we fall"—the motto of Kentucky's shield, or coat of arms—affords a striking illustration of

the principle of strength in Union. As Benjamin Franklin reminded the early American Congress, "Unless we hang together, we shall all be certain to be hanged separately," the only hope of perpetuating the Republic is in the Union of the States composing it—the "*E pluribus unum*" of our National Government. The Union of the States must not and cannot be broken until the people of the Republic of the United States cease to remember that it was as a Union they were left them, to preserve which becomes their never ending and tireless duty. Union has been found to be strength in everything, so must it be in a Union of the States, especially where all of them upon equal foundations compose it. The voice of Patrick Henry, the eloquent orator of the Revolution, thrills through the ages that have passed, and the force, fervor, and sublimity of his "Give me liberty, or give me death," will never die while men respect and revere the Union of the States that compose the powerful and prosperous Republic of our free and enlightened people.

VOTING SYSTEMS.

Much and well-founded complaint has been directed to the voting systems as they are now generally conducted in the United States. Considering the abuses of the ballot by ballot-box stuffing and illegal counting—examples of which have been from time to time furnished in the manner of holding elections in this country—the system is much to be denounced and condemned. Especially is this notable of very close districts, depending upon a few votes for the decision of a majority. In other instances, however, of illegal manipulation of the ballot-box, it has been so palpable by the unnatural majorities thus claimed as to call loudly for remedy. The right of suffrage, as defined by the majority of the States, requires certain qualifications of residence in the State where the vote is cast and in the county and township thereof; naturalization as provided for in the Constitution; property qualification, and the payment of certain taxes. Some States specify disqualifications, as embraced in convictions for crimes and misdemeanors; fighting, or accepting a challenge to fight a duel; infidelity; inability to read the Constitution of the United States; and giving aid and comfort to the rebellion. The manner of holding elections and casting votes is arranged for by the ruling political parties, and both of them have been, doubtless, guilty of tampering with ballot-boxes, and

encouraging fraud in other ways. There can be no greater evil, thus expressed or implied, than in prostituting the sacred right of suffrage in a country which must vitally depend for the maintenance and support of its government upon its intelligent and proper exercise. But party spirit has ever run high in the United States, and this is not less, but rather more, the case now than ever. Politicians who wink at deception, fraud, and other abuses of voting, are tampering with the best interests of the people they would and do represent, and setting an example fraught with mischief and the decay of our true political ambitions and ends. Various new systems of voting have been from time to time suggested, and even attempted, but without abating or correcting the evils still existing and threatening yet greater danger.

The corruption of the ballot demands a safer and better method of voting than has been found in the exercise of that common principle. Through the use of suffrage the laws which now oppress and impoverish the laboring classes may be repealed and valuable reforms, now so justifiably demanded, effected. But the system of voting now operating must be remedied to prevent its abuses, and the inability of its just and lawful exercise. The farmers and laboring classes generally compose the balance of the voting power, and may, by its proper use, accomplish desired and beneficial legislation; but the system of voting and conduct of elections must be purged of every evil before their greatest good can be secured. Let the two great political parties of the country, equally guilty of fraud in voting and in the manner of holding elections, unite upon a general and safe principle. It would then happen that the true design and end of suffrage would be met, and a just and impartial legislation

compelled, by the intelligent and legal employment of the rights and privileges of suffrage.

The system which seems and has proven best calculated to secure a salutary reform in our voting systems is the Australian method, which is properly defined as follows: "A complete list of qualified voters is made up from the tax-collector's book. Each candidate has, at the polling-places, one or more 'scrutineers,' who are supposed to know all the voters in that voting district, and a list of these voters is put into the hand of each 'scrutineer.' When the voter presents himself, the 'scrutineers' examine their lists; and if his name is found recorded, it is checked off by each 'scrutineer,' and a ticket handed to the voter, who then passes into an apartment, where he is entirely alone. The ticket bears the names of the candidates, and the voter scratches out the names of those for whom he does not wish to vote. Neither the name of the voter nor anything else may be written upon the ticket—such writing invalidates the vote. He then folds the ticket, and puts it in the poll-box, which is opened, in the presence of the 'scrutineers,' and the count is made." This absolutely prevents "stuffing," bribery, fear, or any manipulation of ballot-boxes, and insures a fair count and an honest election.

The printing and distribution of tickets are now the subjects of much labor, and the party committees, or "workers" and professional politicians, thus get the control of party machinery. They can have a name misspelled, provided the head of the ticket be right, and turn an election; and under the present system of voting, also, intimidation and bribery are the natural consequences of the open manner in which ballots are deposited. In the new Massachusetts system, founded on the Australian

principle, one ballot contains the names of all candidates, and the voter makes a cross opposite the candidate he wishes to vote for. Nominations may be made by a party caucus of at least three per cent. of the voters of the previous election, or second, by a number of individual voters equaling one per cent. of the voters in a district, which must be at least fifty, and never over a thousand shall be necessary. Moreover, each ballot has a blank space for each officer voted for, and the voter can write in his preferred names, if he prefer others than those printed. Names are arranged alphabetically, and party nominees are shown. Nominations for State elections must be in 14 days prior to the election; for city elections, 10 days; and all others, 7 days. The ballots are prepared by the Secretary of State, and bear a *fac-simile* of his signature on the back; are folded lengthwise, and distributed at the proper time, through clerks, to voting-places. Clerks must have them open in their offices; also must publish a complete list in each county of all nominees, and specimen ballots are to be posted in all polling-places four days before elections. The voter first enters an outer room where a specimen ballot is posted, then goes into another room containing a registry and list of voters. His name checked, he is admitted, and a ballot handed him. He retires to an apartment with desk, etc., and in strict privacy marks his ballot, folds it anew, and deposits it in a box. A heavy penalty is imposed for showing the ballot after making it. The voter is allowed ten minutes, but two minutes is ample time.

This system is in use in a large number of places; is effective, quick, and free from error. Do not leave these checks and safeguards until too late!

Ways and Means for Thought and Thrift.

The bad habit, the neglected duty, the spot of decay, like the stream that trickles over dam or levee, can be checked by single efforts. Give them but free course, and they assert themselves irresistibly, as if to punish their neglect. They wreck lives, fortunes, and great buildings; disregard mighty barriers; and sweep away the results of centuries.

In the collection of State school taxes, in a majority of the States, the money passes through no fewer than six hands, and a percentage of it falls to each handler as his share before it returns as a credit to the man who first paid it.

While the cost of making school books has been reduced more than one-half in late years, their cost to parents is about double what it was twenty years ago.

Electors chiefly vote for men because they are good fellows—and they are generally good at others' expense—instead of those who are qualified for office. This is well attested in the large number of the former in fat places.

A well-regulated horse-race, a good cigar, or an occasional stimulant are probably not very injurious to most people; but in districts where fast horses, tobacco, and alcoholic liquors are the main productions, there should be at least a school-house, a church, and a reform club to every hundred men.

If this be not the case, and such institutions be not well supported, but little can be expected of the next generation, and the women will be the superiors and owners.

Deception and miscalculation in estimates of the cost of proposed buildings have probably crippled and ruined more men financially than even the excessive purchase and careless treatment of machinery, or defective flues in houses. One unexpected expense demands others.

The labor of making a medium thresher with wagon and stacker costs, in an Ohio manufactory, \$89.42; material, \$92.14; other costs, \$36.31; total, \$217.87; while a ten-horse power size costs \$350. A first class self-dump hay rake costs \$15.88, and a hand-dump rake costs \$13.70. A combined mowing and reaping machine with self-raking attachment costs \$88, and without rake, \$51.78. An average harvester and binder costs \$77.67, and an average lawn mower, \$4.05. A chilled iron sulky plow, weighing 350 pounds, costs \$26, and an average steel plow, weighing 105 pounds, \$10 in Pennsylvania. A Maine-made scythe costs 32 cents, and a farm hoe 27 cents, while a 6½-foot cross-cut saw costs \$1.12. A pair of stoga boots for men costs \$2.15; calf boots, \$3.41; women's medium Curacoa kid button boots, \$1.85 in Illinois, \$1.37 in New York, and \$1.30 in Massachusetts; while pebbled goat boots in Massachusetts cost \$1.73; calf button, \$1.43; and infants' four-button shoes cost from 11 to 32 cents to manufacture. One yard of ingrain carpet costs 21 cents; worsted velvet, \$1.65; and oil cloth, from 12 to 26 cents. A first class machine-made Illinois surrey costs \$58, and the Connecticut five-glass landau, \$860, while a first class machine-made top buggy costs \$91. An average watch movement costs in Ohio \$7.49, while in Illinois it is fig-

ured at \$5.64. A suit of common all-wool cassimere averages \$9.64; fine quality, \$17; medium satinet, \$3.74; and fine worsted, \$15.44. Medium jerseys cost 68 cents. The round-crown stiff hats for men cost \$1.58, and the soft felt, \$1.21. Cotton and wool under-garments average \$3.45 per dozen. A common cooking-stove, four-hole, No. 7, weighing 175 pounds, costs \$4.05, and 258 pounds weight, \$6.83. A common heating stove, with sliding door, grate, register, and foot rails, costs in Illinois \$6.30. One yard sheeting, $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards to the pound, costs close to 5 cents, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards to the pound costs 9 1-5 cents, while calico costs an average of nearly 3 cents per yard; cotton cloth and drilling, $5\frac{1}{4}$ cents. Common goblets cost 28 cents per dozen; $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon Mason fruit jars, $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents each. The best pine lumber costs in Illinois \$1.20 per hundred, and a complete average sewing-machine, \$10.50, nails, from \$1.88 to \$2.41 per keg; and coal oil, 110° test, costs 7 cents per gallon in Pennsylvania.*

The tariff commission of the forty-seventh Congress found that Great Britain employed 5,140,000 hands in manufacturing, who produced, in round numbers, \$4,000,000,000 worth, while the United States employed 5,250,000 hands, whose production for the same time amounted to \$8,000,000,000.

Henry Clay pleaded for three years of protection as enough to put manufacturers on their feet, while Daniel Webster opposed protection as against *both policy and principle*.

James G. Blaine says, in his report to Congress, in 1881, while Secretary of State, that "The inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their

* Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Labor.

longer hours of labor." From a calculation made by the Secretary of the United States Treasury, there is only one in ten laborers even supposed to be benefited by protection.

The fact that prices of products are generally low, when the bulk of farmers have to sell, but suddenly get high at seed-time to consumers, indicates unjust combinations and an unhealthy condition, which farmers should combine to cure.

Is it more important that the country be so vastly wealthy, and at our expense, or that it have a healthy growth, and the farmer and wage-worker get their fair share?

As an instance of success, the Waltham Watch Co., of Massachusetts, whose last dividend to its owners was 50 per cent., has transferred \$1,000,000 from its unwieldy surplus to its capital stock, and it is protected only 25 per cent. by the Government.

A cotton mill near Greenville, South Carolina, cost \$500,000, and is paying 10 per cent. yearly on \$1,200,000. Its products are protected 40 per cent.

The *Chicago Tribune* says: "An average bullock costs to raise \$25, and he sells for \$30; the slaughter-house gets \$37, and the retailer \$48.75, for the meat only."

The Labor Bureau of Michigan says in its last report that about one-half of the farming land in the State is mortgaged, and for about three-fifths of its value—the amount is calculated at 130 million dollars.

A commission in another Western State reports an indebtedness, outside of school considerations, of \$259,712,323, and the total assessed value of the real estate, including over 9,000 miles of railroads, was only \$295,150,077.

The report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor shows \$3,374,-

800 of city debts and \$2,744,100 of county debts, but it does not publish individual or State indebtedness.

Indiana, even, reports a county debt of \$7,004,845 in 1888; city debts, \$9,206,996; and *twenty-seven* counties alone report \$4,604,999 in real estate mortgages, and \$568,490 in chattel mortgages, through her Labor Bureau. This report states that one of the most alarming features is degeneracy of the soil, and that, in many cases, its shrinkage in productive power has been fully 50 per cent., and is getting worse.

New York reports a similar exhaustion of farms, and a Pennsylvania agricultural society reports a great agricultural depression and a great falling off in the value of land. Investigations have resulted in conclusions that farms have depreciated one-third in value, and crops another third in the United States in the past twenty years.

The United States census of 1880 says that there were \$2,790,272,606 invested in manufacturing, while there were \$12,000,000,000 invested in agriculture in the United States. The value of the manufactured products was in all \$5,369,579,191, while the total farm products were worth only \$2,212,540,927. These statements develop the fact that with near one-fourth of the capital invested, the comparatively few manufacturers made much more than did all of the farmers in all of the States in the Union. Of the *net* profits of manufactories given, the entire labor portion gets, in round numbers, \$605,000,000, leaving about \$606,000,000 net to the owners. The home and important questions arise, does our rich nation need assistance, and are our farmers in condition to aid others, who are wealthier and more prosperous than they, especially to the extent of \$200,000,000 each year directly

from them, and over ten times more indirectly? [See Statistics in the Appendix to this book.]

On glass, on castor oil, and it is suspected that on many other articles the customs duties are more than the entire cost of the articles.

Dealers' price-lists, as to prices quoted, are not intentionally deceptive, but are often used for the purpose of deceiving. They are printed only as a standard to go by, and the real price, as it varies, is calculated by a per cent. discount. This discount is often as much as 60 to 90 per cent. off the lists.

Our millionaire-making privileges are making slaves and fools of thousands to gain the dollar and a United States Senatorship.

Honor and business promptitude will aid any young man in life more than inherited fortune. It sometimes seems to require a life-time to learn this truth.

If the National Bank system has done more harm in anything than in the immense profits its share-holders have made, it is in creating a nucleus for a national organization of wealthy people.

The same witnesses and evidence, which prove that customs duties have stimulated manufactories to such an extent that many of them are continually forced to shut down, prove also that they are full-grown, rich, and able to assist the depressed of all classes, considered as classes.

Fertilizers and other things which cost money to stimulate the production of land, can only glut our now limited farm markets; exhaust soils of some elements; and leave farmers, as a class, worse off.

Material rights, just general legislation, and equitable division of future produced property or wealth are what the farmer and wage-worker need, deserve, and must unanimously demand.

There seems to be full evidence that the first seeds which germinated in capitalists and monopolists were those of class and sectional legislation, chief of which was the protection subsidy.

Like in most things else, the excess in both time and amount of the levying of customs duties does the damage, and not the proper, moderate aid, which was once needed—the abuse, and not the use.

Manufacturers consume the same amount of farm products and muscle, whether they live in America or Europe.

Everything of worth comes from the ground, hence the producers must furnish all the food, pay all the taxes and other bills, as well as pay for the luxuries of the rich.

Legislative hearings on material economic bills before them have ever been one-sided; the business men have had the say, and had the laws their own way.

When our excise, or internal, taxes were high, the evasions were so great that a proportionately smaller amount was then collected than after a reduction; so of smuggling in our customs taxes.

Are those so generously aided, grateful; and we our brothers' keepers?

Mr. Meriwether, in his preface to the fifth edition of his "Tramp Trip Through Europe," says: "In Europe I found the highest wages in the *one* State with free trade; in America, with few exceptions, I find wages highest in precisely those trades with least protection."

The only fair comparison of the effects of laws and conditions on wages and prices between nations is between those of similar ages, situations, and material resources.

There are unquestionably *nine valuable* patent rights owned by speculators to every *one* owned by the inventors, and the bulk of them are owned by manufacturers.

Where an immense tax is levied on the products of other countries, those countries cannot be blamed for levying similar taxes on our products in retaliation. This is now largely the case, and they about offset each other; hence there is no benefit to either. Should the present threats to impose a tariff against our farm products be executed in Great Britain, American farmers would most surely be pauperized. [See Statistics of Exports to Europe.]

Agriculture is not exhaustive of the soil if farmers are thrifty and cultivate intelligently. It is conceded to be an elevating industry, except probably in the handling of brute animals.

The assistance in farm work is becoming poorer in quality and higher in price, while farm products and the fertility of land are declining generally. Still many farmers think that by letting it alone the great stone on them will turn itself.

It is useless to take the promise of politicians to do what they have had chance and time to accomplish, but always left undone. Excuses in politics are also politic dodges.

It is estimated that the farm lands of Illinois have depreciated in value over \$200,000,000 in the last ten years, and that they are still depreciating.

Vermont farmers sent a petition to Congress to make duties on imported produce nearly correspond with those on goods, etc., but it has not even been reported on as yet. Potatoes, onions, cabbage, wool, eggs, and barley have come in large quantities from "pauper labor" countries, and some as far west as to Chicago.

The seven per cent. reduction of the tariff of 1883, caused revenues to fall \$19,000,000 in 1884, and in 1885,

\$14,000,000 more. A similar result followed prior reductions; all factories ran on full time, and wages were generally raised. Removal of obstructions to nature and her laws are rewarded in proportion to their extent.

What enriches one class must reduce some other or others. Labor and wages, like water unrestricted, soon come to a common level. Restrictions on foreign commerce must restrict the foreign markets, and reduce prices for our products in the same degree. We can never get more for our products at home than we get abroad for our increasing surpluses.

The best proof of theories are their practical results. While the naturally agricultural West is getting poorer and deeper in debt, the United States Treasury is loaded with money from taxes, and Eastern money-kings hardly know how to invest or spend their surplus capital.

The decreasing consideration of farmers' families by "the society" of cities and towns, which they clothe and feed, should at least touch their pride, if their own drooping interests do not, and cause them to put honest and competent farmers in the chief and in other offices.

Times, conditions, and increase of wealth have changed with a wonderful decrease in the cost of manufacturing. Farmers must keep up with the changes or go down.

It is estimated by informed men that the individual wealth of a small number of the present United States Senators will aggregate about *one billion dollars*, and is growing more at an alarming rate.

In response to personal letters sent out to all parts of the United States, the following facts are developed so far as numerous replies indicate up to date. Of the cities reporting, where water is furnished by the city, there is unanimous satisfaction expressed; where furnished by

companies, with a few exceptions, prices and service are both complained of. All reports on gas are from cities where the works are owned by companies. Four-fifths of these show great dissatisfaction as to prices, and about one-half as to the quality of the gas. Electric lights, where furnished by the cities, are reported satisfactory; but of those furnished by companies, only about one-half are so. Reports on indebtedness are incomplete, but indicate an astounding amount, especially in agricultural States and districts. Estimates of personal property escaping taxation show, in the cities, an average of 55 per cent. of the total.

Parents are going to extremes in indulging children, and are evidently too lax in cultivating their manners as well as their physical abilities. The drift of the times is to get something for nothing, or as nearly as possible to it, and the child quietly absorbs the idea.

Those who pay one hundred dollars or more per head for *any* cattle, or over five hundred dollars for any horse, must be able to find some more foolish purchaser; be a successful bettor at races; or lose money on each deal.

If a man allows the idea that he has blue or fine blood in his veins to take hold of him, he will soon develop into a fraud and a failure.

It is said that when the sun sets in Alaska it is an hour high in eastern Maine. Thus is our country *up* in this, as in other respects.

The prices of articles on which trusts have operated could be partly regulated in several ways. One of the most effective methods might be to equip the prisons and penitentiaries to produce articles affected.

While pooling is lessened in railroad transportation by the Interstate Commission, the express companies are charged with taking up the plundering scheme.

Again it is suggested that farmers and other laborers cease their unnecessary interest and efforts to enrich the nation and to aid business men. Their own present condition and share of profits demand their sole attention and energies. The nation is rich enough, and business men are fully able to take care of their own interests, as are also members of the professions.

The best late statistics obtainable give the profit in farm lands at 2 per cent.; railroads and shipping, 4 per cent.; railroad mortgages, 6 per cent.; mortgages on farms, 7 per cent.; telegraphs and telephones, 10 per cent.; banking, 12 per cent.; manufacturing, unprotected, 11 per cent.; manufacturing, protected, 40 per cent.

Under "Reform Remedies" in this work is found the information that there is an average of about five manufacturers and their attorneys to one farmer in the New England legislatures; that eight out of the first ten Presidents of the United States were directly in the farming business, and that there are but twenty-one farmers to two hundred and sixty professional men in our National House of Representatives. In the British House of Commons there are 162 farmers to 107 professionals, although the representation of the towns is nearly double that of the counties.

The late decision of the Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, reversing the past practice and taxing all woolen goods the same as worsteds, shows the drift of the times.

The census of 1880 gives the cost of building and repairing farm fences for the year 1879 as \$76,175,003. It is argued that the bulk of this sum could be saved.

Value of farm productions, census of 1870, \$2,447,538,658; same for 1880, \$2,212,540,927. The number of farms of over 50 and under 100 acres in 1870 had increased

36 4-5 per cent. in 1880, while farms of 1,000 acres or more increased in number, during the same period, 668 1-5 per cent., or nearly seven-fold.

The United States shipped to France \$15,438,263, and to England \$7,961,000 in gold, making a total of \$23,399,263 in two months from April 27, 1889. The average shipment to *all* Europe annually for the last ten years was but \$21,870,000.

As a fair comparison of the educations given in a State having protected industries with another having none, the census of 1880 shows that in Massachusetts there were 6.4 per cent. of white persons over ten years of age who could not write. In Iowa there were 3.8 per cent. —or about one-half as many in proportion to population, although the proportionate wealth in those States is reversed.

Doubtless the greatest secret of success with those who buy or sell anything is the very simple one, to buy when others *most* want to sell, and to sell when others *most* want to buy—when possible. This applies to boomed tulips, South Sea island schemes, or town lots, as well as fancy stock or the products of the farm. The difficulty in using it lies in the liability to forget it.

Beware of delusions; they always end in complete failure and in loss to the faithful investors in them. Anything that is unnatural and unreasonable to a degree is a delusion. The longer they have lasted, the nearer are they to their final explosions.

Boasting of honor, hospitality, or other virtues and possessions seems a sure indication of their absence.

Were it not for the money brought from the East to the West in immigration and loans, even the great State of Kansas, with all her agricultural resources, would be

totally bankrupt. This undoubted fact proves an enormous wrong somewhere.

Workers cannot afford any more such impostures as the lightning rod business has been; but such lose their hold only to make place for new and changed deceptions.

Sufferers who simply whine and growl lose the respect and aid of their friends, and get but harder terms and treatment from their oppressors. To accomplish anything in work, business, or politics, individual effort is necessary first, and brings combined effort and success. Each one counts one more, for so all numbers and amounts are made.

The old parties are committed, by present leaders, to purchasing votes, newspapers, and even college influence; and the one most favorable to the interests of wealth, trusts, and monopoly will, as the country is now going, succeed.

A government is made to protect the people and to enable them to add to their wealth—not they to enrich it and protect classes financially.

Farmers contend with natural destruction and disarrangement by the elements; untrained help; children; swindlers; brute animals, and a hundred kinds of pests, as bugs and weeds. These, added to indebtedness, lack of knowledge of markets and prices, and the ordinary ills, make a farmer's life not a very happy one, nor simple and easy either.

If workmen vote for high protection, through promises or threats of employers, they are doing a weak and wrong act. Both rich and poor hire as cheaply as possible, and doubtless will until men's hearts and ways are revolutionized. They oppose whatever raises wages.

The general producer takes weights as given him, and

gives them as taken by the dealer, as is the case in prices.

A person is really a coward and a villain who countenances oppression or wrong in family or country. Friendship or other ties is no excuse or palliation.

Every person and power is virtually arrayed against the farmer, except the Lord, and He regards those highest who combine works with faith. He puts the thousand things in reach, but, like political and social rights, they must be earned by constant thought and effort, except when gained by artificial favor or protection.

The Connecticut Indemnity Association publishes sworn statements from old insurance companies, which show that "they have received an average of \$56.42 per \$1,000 insurance, and paid out an average of only \$11.57 per \$1,000 for death claims." The balance, \$44.85 per \$1,000, necessarily went into dividends and expenses—including such salaries as \$77,500 per year, paid the president of one New York company. Another company paid out \$371,847.92 in one year in salaries alone, and several other companies paid similar amounts. Thirty-three United States life insurance companies have received near two billion dollars from policy-holders, and paid out to them less than a billion; four companies paid less than one-fifth of the amount received.

Close investigation in many States will show that the coal companies have agreed on dividing up these States into districts, with a penalty for any company selling this necessity outside of the district assigned it. In many cities and towns the dealers have exchanges which enforce all members to sell at the same prices. Most of these are good citizens, who argue that combinations are so general that they are forced into these systems which

destroy all competition—the farmer's and general laborer's only present safeguard. Nominating and electing members to legislatures and Congress who will pledge to make such combinations criminal, as being conspiracies against the public good and deserts, and compelling them to enact such laws as will be operative and enforced, seems heroic, and the only effective treatment.

Brutes, as dogs and fowls, which are often urged by more brutal humans to bruise and disfigure one another, are pitiable. Brutes, as prize-fighters, are only to be compared to the above, and to those who assist in or enjoy their beastliness. Both these come close to total depravity.

The man or boy from the country, who is sometimes ridiculed in town as unsophisticated, finds at least equal greenness in the town people when visiting the country.

The people of some States foolishly allow local pride and bigotry to cause them to claim superiority over adjoining States. Thus some New York papers often attempt to be witty in statements against New Jersey, where justice is at par, farms worth one-fifth more per acre, and the per cent. of paupers less, than in the State of New York.

In the matter of so-called Puritanism and Cavalierism, some States would doubtless elect an incompetent man to office rather than a worthy one who has not the special blood in his veins.

If one person, State, or production is better than another, the Almighty deserves some credit for it, but He never boasts nor presumes.

The Fowler & Wells Co., through Nelson Sizer, Esquire, president of the Amer. Inst. of Pharmacy, N. Y., in a personal letter says: "Human nature is susceptible of varied culture, and all the faculties exist in all men

(except idiots), but are developed by incidents and circumstances. New England cannot raise wheat, and Illinois lacks the elements of a manufacturing region. Culture in diverse directions depends largely on wants and opportunities for such development." Yet Illinois still thinks—or acts—that she must yield up millions yearly to foster manufacturing in New England.

Genuine and competent lawyers and doctors, whose charges are reasonable, and the same whether made before or after service, are both noble and necessary. "Jack lawyers" who are forcibly retired to politics or newspaper scribbling as a means to live by light work, or to levy blackmail, are to be avoided as strictly as the quack doctor. Both intrude where not worthy, especially in public meetings and secret societies.

The French Government has a custom of buying the recipe of every patent medicine which truly proves to be of value. It then makes the ingredients publicly known.

A recent semi-official work published in Germany, says: "Not only are the dwelling places of the poor horrid, but landlords can take everything for rent due, and—as many as twenty often occupy one room. More than three-fourths of the population of Berlin live in tenements."

Debt is a prod to some, but often becomes overwhelming to them. It is ruin and disgrace to thousands more, increasing from the "first false step." Douglas Jerrold exclaimed: "Out of debt! and, though you have a patch on your knee, a hole in your hat, and a crack in your shoe leather, you have liberty, and a dry crust even is toothsome. A debtor is a serf out on a holiday."

Idle and egotistical boasting by actions, as well as words, are doubtless as great factors in sectional divi-

sions of the nation as between local neighbors. "Yankee brag and rebel boasting" are both confined to the weak and impetuous.

While modern houses are so nearly fire-proof, it would be good legal protection to have all buildings, where many people are ever housed, to be wholly so.

A scrap-book of self-tested receipts equals a newspaper which continually reminds readers of seasonable duties in season.

Both the nation and each of its citizens should be satisfied with an abundance of wealth, and distribution of it can be no more foolishly made than lavishing it on a family. It makes them helpless, artificial, and ungrateful.

Debt is like dynamite—useful occasionally, but always dangerous.

If government ownership of all public works, including railroads and telegraphs; and a gradual reduction of tariff taxes, with no other subsidies, will aid the workers, why not have it so? The nation is rich enough, also many of its people.

Contentment and freedom from worrying are pearls of great price, but they must not extend to causing inaction while combinations are chaining down the masses and taking their rights and privileges.

While goods are now made cheaply, and to consume quickly, the prices, by wholesale and retail, are held up by trusts and agreements. The rates of tariff of the railroads, hotels, etc., and of interest on money, are often regulated in similar ways.

Officials outrage decency and those whose servants they are, when for a dead-head ride or entertainment they hire themselves out thus as an advertisement.

No one needs be poor, out of a job, or friendless if always industrious, reliable, and economical.

People never command respect by trying to impress.

Out of about \$450,000,000 worth of foreign goods bought in South America each year, the United States supplies but about eleven per cent. A child even should see the reason.

Political mistakes are plainer seen in others ; like personal faults.

How many will pay immense prices for articles not needed, then demand a ten per cent. reduction on laborers' wages or wares.

It is not more manufactories we want now, in these days of lock-outs and shut-downs, but more and larger markets, made by a gradual opening up of our ports to exchanges and trades—called commerce.

Nahum J. Bachelder, Commissioner of Immigration for New Hampshire, had response to a circular he issued that in many cases there were as high as thirty farms abandoned in single townships. In these cases the buildings and fences were generally decaying. One town reported 7,500 acres of deserted land. The Bellefonte (Pa.) *Watchman* says that land values in the several counties adjacent have shrunk from 25 to 50 per cent. in the last ten years. This kind of home market for farmers is going West rapidly under the present tariff.

Judge Peffer's (high) "Tariff Manual" proves that "Under the higher rates of duty the percentage of imported wool does not materially decrease; imports of manufactured wool do not decrease either, absolutely or relatively." This is doubtless true of all tariff-tinkered commodities, and disproves the Judge's old opinions; for during the last low tariff we imported about twenty-five per cent. per person less than in similar years since it is high. If the tariff averaged 100 per cent., there would be

as much, or more, imported; for all our prices would be raised in a greater proportion by it, and more millionaires to buy imported goods would result.

In the admirable report of Chief Albert S. Bolles, of Pennsylvania, just issued and received (Sept., 1889), the following interesting facts are gleaned regarding the much debated question of miners' wages in Pennsylvania: Taking the average of the tables of ten highest paid in the industry, it results in showing \$509 per year; and the lowest paid ten, \$372. The proportion of the former to the latter in number is not given, nor are living expenses at the mines. It is also stated that the average wages of 710 men, who received the *highest* wages in bituminous (protected) mining, was \$465.27 per year; same in anthracite mining (unprotected), was \$734 per year. The latter averaged $8\frac{1}{2}$ days of work more per year.

A very complete statistical article on the great benefit of building associations is the leader in the work. They are shown to be of even more benefit to workers than are the beneficent savings banks. However, all of these things combined are but an ounce of benefit to the pound of injury done by the class, useless, and robbing laws called "protecting," which foster monopoly and sustain trusts, double living expenses, limit production, and add not a cent to wages.

The "*single tax*" (real estate), like a protection tax, looks well as a theory—on one side; but, like the colored preacher who tried to fly to heaven from the pulpit, a crash on the people would result in trying it, "and not get there either," unless laid upon idle lands alone.

The results of vice, extravagance, and of ignorance in management and voting are warning signs on every side.

Why have any fences in a strictly farming country,

excepting around the few pastures needed? They cost millions yearly.

It is unquestioned that the ablest disinterested Western leaders of both parties would declare for gradual free trade did they not fear being voted down and out and need the protection—corruption funds at elections. Large masses move too slow to keep up to the present times fully.

After November 1, 1889, Mexico retaliates on our high tariff by charging a tariff tax of \$2.25 for each hog; \$3 for each head of cattle and mules; \$40 for each gelding; 10 cents per kilogram (about 2½ lbs.) on all fresh meat and birds, and 25 cents per kilogram on all salted and smoked meats brought into her borders—virtual exclusion. A similar retaliation imposed by England, if including grain, would bankrupt two-thirds of the people of the United States, and nothing could avert it.

Hon. Charles F. Peck's fine and full report as Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, of New York, for 1889, speaks of the "wide divergence of rates of wages in the same trades, seasons, and localities, especially where organizations are imperfect;" and "as a rule it is noticeable that the building trades yield the highest general wages;" further, "we have reached a point where, merely for self-protection, some check should be put on the too multitudinous human torrent of immigration;" and "the law is notoriously evaded," referring to contracts for labor made abroad. Also, "as nations have increased in the use of machinery, so has the wages scale increased," and the United States and Great Britain are instanced as against France and Germany.

Bad habits and vices are likened to tariff taxes and other subsidies—covertly ruinous, hence unwise for the masses.

Making note, or account, of all business transactions would save thousands in money, more in time and trouble, and more still in friendships.

Subsidizing, or running a steamship line to South America while our high duties on imports exist, is remindful of the "balloon line to the moon." It would carry but little, save tourists, luxuries, and eye-glasses. A line to Greenland would, of course, answer the same purpose—reduce the nation's surplus by transferring to that of the politicians. This is in line with the National Bankers' late proposition to deposit in United States vaults a full dollar's worth of silver, coined, for every dollar in circulation issued by the Government, to be in lieu of greenbacks, bank notes, etc. This would be another bonanza for the silver kings, and tie up at least \$820,000,000 uselessly. All know that greenbacks go too easy, and have no deposit backing.

Highly creditable in many respects is the Fourth Annual Report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, on the condition of the working women in large cities in this country. He "handles without gloves" many factories in each city where many of the health, moral, and decent provisions are even unattempted; and compliments many for providing these humane necessities. Wages, in consideration of the cost of living, are shown to be similar in the various cities, excepting that at the West they are higher. The different industries vary greatly in wages paid, but absolutely no benefit is indicated to those protected by high duties. Among the poorest paid are women who work in silk mills. They get an average of \$13.00 per year less than those who work in printing offices, and \$150.45 less than those in dyeing and cleaning establishments—both unprotected. High

protected glass works pay still much less (\$104.50) per year than the silk mills.

Mr. Hugh Cavanaugh, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was a member of the delegation which lately returned from a tour of industrial inspection through Europe. This tour was under the auspices of the Scripps League, and conducted without party bias or partiality. The condition of manual laborers was found much better, and progress in rapid work and perfect machinery less in England than anticipated by him. These conditions were seen and noted by all the members alike, and similar impressions would naturally follow. Everything considered fully, all indications point to as much net benefit in England for the same amount of work as in the United States, and a per cent. more than in Germany or France. He thinks the same holds true in agriculture when the labor of the owners and their families here is taken into account, and that the convenience and cheapness of raw material; the superiority, greater rapidity, and more hours of work in both operatives and machinery here; and the low cost of importing laborers from the lowest priced labor districts of the old world, make manufacturing as cheap and easy here as there, were it not for our "overproduction" and the necessary shutting down of factories—in other words, limited home markets.

Who will say there is any difference between the acceptance of railroad passes and other favors by the peoples' officials, and the acceptance of any other kind of a bribe, even to two dollars for one's vote?

WEALTH.

The North American *Review*, June, 1889, follows its sad article in memorium of its late chief, Hon. Allen Thorndyke Rice, with a magnificent contribution from Mr. Andrew Carnegie on "Wealth." It may be open to the charge of presumption to here criticise the article for reasons of comparative age, experience, and known ability; but it seems valuable to publish at least a discussion of it. Among the grand and noble sentiments in his article are the statements that it is the problem of the age properly to administer wealth so that the ties of brotherhood may bind the rich and poor in harmonious relationship; that leaving great wealth to descendants is injudicious, injurious, and improper; that to leave it for public purposes at death results too often in a defeat of the object and ingratitude; that a heavy tax on large estates seems, of all forms of taxation, the wisest; that the wealthy should live modest, unostentatious, provide for the wants of dependants, and consider all surplus as simply a trust fund for public benefit and wise charity, and that otherwise he who dies rich, dies disgraced. Such declarations of belief make one feel an adoration for the very person of him who utters them from the heart. But, taking the last proposition first, how is its practice? Giving or wisely distributing one's surplus or the income from it during his life, creates a most blissful

and satisfactory feeling—after it is done. The getting to the point of doing it seems to require more courage than most wealth-gatherers possess. Mr. Carnegie may have distributed *ten* to every *one* thousand dollars that the writer has, and, although such acts generally come to public light when in tens of thousands, the latter is unaware of such actions as yet by the former—with two exceptions. Without sarcasm or insinuation, it is now thought that a grand example of these noble principles will not be “hidden under a bushel” nor delayed.

The succession tax advocated where voluntary distribution is not made, would seem plausible and readily paid, from the fact that inherited property is easily acquired, and oftener an injury than a benefit to the heirs and the country. Yet in past ages it was found to have been badly evaded by transfers of property before death. This may be a good failing, or might be overcome by penalties or otherwise. Though it may not be a uniform tax, it has strong elements of justice, good policy, and ready, reliable revenue.

Since going thus far in a discussion of so excellent a production, exceptions must be taken to the statements therein, that “the contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer” is “welcomed as highly beneficial,” and that wealth in manufacturing and commerce should, “in addition to interest on capital, make a profit.” These seem to go too far, and hardly to harmonize with the prior propositions. If a repetition of the quotation, “Oh, how wretched is that poor man that hangs on princes’ favors,” is allowed and it be true, it may be appropriately used here. The great fortunes have mainly been made in manufactures and business resulting from them; and with proper extension of insurance and

usual business precautions, they are as safe and as reliably profitable as investments in loans, realty, or other business, and why they should earn both full interest on investments and profit besides will never be understood by the working masses. Owners who are active in these branches of industry generally get good salaries and expenses; and repairs, renewals, and losses are deducted from earnings before dividends are declared to stockholders or appropriated by the owners. The other statements named as made in Mr. Carnegie's contribution are so self-evident and proper as to make criticisms unjustifiable, save in the difference he welcomes between the houses of the millionaire and the laborer. The generally understood meaning of "palace" is anything but "modest," and the occupier the reverse of one shunning display and extravagance. All good people will favor more laborers living in "cottages"—as now known—and fewer in tenements—as they now mainly live.

Wealth is generally thought to cover a multitude of sins, but those who have experienced the possession of it think that it includes a multitude of cares, trials, and responsibilities. The family of a man of wealth naturally demands more, soon becomes dependent, and they thus necessitate him to add to, instead of enabling him to dispose of any of his troublesome property. Property often also becomes a burden because becoming unproductive, and this kind usually requires the most care and expense, and is most difficult to get off of hands. A hope of future profit impels the expense and care bestowed on such. Doubtless did the world of men who are piling up wealth know the little real benefit of it, and the great cares accompanying it, before their efforts became second nature to them, they would, if sensible,

cease them. Or did such men love their neighbors as themselves, they would curtail their desires and vim, knowing that there is only so much in the world, and what is one's gain is another's loss. These reflections apply to those who endeavor to or attain wealth through just means; but God pity those who work injustice, oppression, and other rascalities to obtain it; for a surplus of money, if not of sufficient worth to strive hard for honestly, is worth less than nothing if obtained in any other way, and is a curse and name-stain besides. The other extreme to the one happy medium is represented by the drone or worthless loungee—often the rich man's child—who depends for sustenance on his parents' affections, then on their death.

The wealth of the United States is increasing so rapidly as to be almost beyond the possibility of actual computation. In 1880 it was estimated to be near forty-four billions of dollars, and is calculated to increase at the rate of about eight per cent. each year. At this rate the wealth would have increased in 1889 to, say eighty-eight billion dollars, while in European countries there is a general decrease, save, perhaps, in England, or the United Kingdom, whose wealth in 1886 was given at forty-six billions. That of the United States at that time was about seventy billions, notwithstanding the late deduction of a billion and a quarter in slaves freed, besides the billions more in the destruction during four years of the greatest war on earth, and the enormous loss of men, money, time, and labor.

Our productions and exportations are greater than ever before, and increasing in a ratio also incomputable. There should be no such thing as poverty among a people who have shown such signal and commendable

abilities in building up on the foundations laid but a little over one hundred years ago. The great black blot on the country's records and statesmanship is the fact that but a very small proportion of this enormous increase has fallen to the possession of its millions of chief producers, and the ratio is growing worse.

It is not traitorous for a man who has accumulated wealth to request those with whom he has been associated, or those even who are in similar business, to halt and consider if they are not going to extremes—to the ruin of their families and fellow men, or even of the nation.

Aggregations and combinations of capital naturally force citizens to meet them, when oppressive, with similar or efficacious, though they should ever be friendly, measures. Hence this work advises prompt action before rashness is precipitated, for there is no ray of hope that the bulk of American wealth-gatherers, if given full scope, will cease their schemes and efforts. The time is here for the masses to individually and collectively proceed to elect good, unpurchasable men to the offices, have them make laws declaring as criminals stock or produce gamblers; members of trusts and their trustees; poolers; fixed price makers, and all similar schemers of indirect robbery, and have them make such laws fully effective. The farmers and general laborers must have some system for mutual understanding and protection, as exchanges, where all action can be made general and the same. The establishment of a plan and fund to aid single-handed or poor persons to maintain in law their rights, and collect their dues from strong parties, or corporations, should not be the latest of their good offices. Combinations of capital to monopolize, and all subsidies, including present

patent laws, must first, however, be exterminated to peacefully raise the poor and restrain the rich.

Artificial equalization, as building cathedrals, monuments, and really unnecessary public piles, has doubtless been practiced in the old world, though the real givers have largely been the poorer classes. It makes labor—not in competition with the usual necessary kinds. Surplus capital (though not guaranteed direct profits) should not hesitate to make abundance of labor and opportunity as the best form of charity to the poor. Systems of cheap loans to worthy borrowers and of contributions, to provide and properly devote to the free use of the deserving, parks, bathing houses, and excursions, and even to build a national monument, exceeding in its proportions the pyramid of Cheops, would be grand and historic achievements to celebrate on the second centennial of our National Independence. There is no end to opportunities, as men increase and machinery is improved—even to systems of rapid transit under lakes and seas. Things as improbable fifty years ago have since been done.

Wealth is a boundless theme, but this discourse, and all the work, must be brought to a finality. It would be a pleasant forecast, but as unreal as a dream, to conclude by leading readers to hope for a future Arcadia, a land of the leal; where want is but a relief from plenty; where labor's chain is broken, and the clank rings down the ages of all future time as nothing more than a reminder of the lingering, happy change. To imagine even a millennial period, with peace and gentle sunshine holding continual sway; the golden rule unbroken; neighbors loved as selves, and the hill-tops of the rich voluntarily lowered to bear up the valleys of the laboring, suffering poor would indeed be sublime and inspiring. But such must ever be

vain predictions, hopes, or day-dreams. Degrees of caste and condition are evidently decreed by nature. The great Almighty has ordained, truly, that by the sweat of our faces shall we eat our bread, and the possession of wealth, a grand establishment, or a titled crown will not defeat the mandate, nor reduce its natural force and ultimate effect. It will assert some time.

Poverty may cause suffering from cold and cruelty, heat and harassing, or over-work and want, but wealth has its fears, jealousies, responsibilities, its ever-increasing cares and wearing mental toil to hold its own, and meet increased demands.

The priceless, happy medium, though but one to the two extremes, is ever ready with rest and satisfaction, and it may be said, with healing in its wings, as the desirable position, and, when exercised in all the senses and attributes of human life, brings an existence near to paradise.

Wealth is not a panacea for the exhausting ills of life, but a proper amount of means aids efforts of culture and good works.

As civilization and education grow, may present tendencies to a sordid heaping up of material wealth meet a reaction, or be estopped and cease. As these great factors spread, may they reach the careless, spendthrift class, who disregard Thought and Thrift, mock and dare their great Maker, and end distressed lives in our alms-houses, prisons, and asylums.

Appendix—Explanations.

But a short time ago the compiler of the following statistics was actively engaged in general business, though raised on a farm. The idea that ten dollars could be made otherwise, more easily than one by farming, was proved fully true, but the necessities of a business life lead one to think but little of the justness of his political faith. On return to a farm, the time and means at hand to go deeper into the questions at issue resulted in changed views and this publication of them, which are summed up in the following statements and figures.

It would seem that a company that builds a railroad has full right to make all possible out of it; that the men who start national banks would have the same privilege; that aid, granted by tax, direct or indirect, to encourage manufactures; or a sole monopoly given to a patentee for seventeen years would be at least possibly beneficial. Study, thought, and figures with freedom from prejudice show and prove that times are changed, and that farmers and wage-workers have been too busy, too partisan, and lacked full opportunity to keep up with the rapid changes. They are being voluntarily but surely and badly deceived and drained.

Railroads are necessarily natural monopolies. They build up rates for transportation until the profits need to be covered up by being converted into or declared as

dividends on watered stock, and have so continued until such stock is now estimated at over two billion dollars. When a railroad is completed it generally has a monopoly for years before another capable of competition can be built. When it is built, fixed prices are agreed on between the two, and double capital stands invested and double expenses incurred to do about the same business as the one could do; hence the former rates are seldom permanently reduced. Legislated rights and voted subsidies cannot be recalled, and relief is defeated.

National banks, by being "National," can readily step into a general combination. They draw interest on untaxed bonds, which they pledge or pawn as security for their bank notes which the Government prints. These they loan at various rates of interest, and pay the Government a tax of one per cent. on the notes in circulation. Men and companies who obtain wealth through equal chances with others are entitled to it, but in the above instances the law steps in and gives these organized bodies great advantages and additional powers. Excepting the monopoly that the law allows to patentees, and which in most cases benefits manufacturers to whom the valuable patents are mostly and necessarily assigned, there is no privilege or subsidy now extremely unfair and injurious to the masses comparable with the hundreds of millions yearly legislated out of their possession and into the pockets of the owners of the protected industries.

If farmers can be shown that protection does not make home markets to any extent nor increase the prices of their products in those markets; that such products are fixed in price by the world's markets, out of which protection shuts the bulk of them by diminishing exchanges, and therefore prices and commerce; but that it

increases the prices of what they purchase by one-half—when the artisan and other laborers appreciate that if anything increases *real* prices for labor here, so much the greater will be the immigration and at least equalize wages; that protection hence does not raise real wages, but makes rents, store bills, etc., fully one-half higher; that it confines markets to our own country and hence requires less manufactured, as well as agricultural products. — finally, when all producers and laborers know that manufactories are not increasing in number even naturally; are combining to limit production by shutting down factories, etc.; are monopolizing the restricted market; are getting, direct and indirect, the bulk of the wealth of the country; are paying smaller average wages and by tenfold to fewer people than unprotected industries, it is firmly believed that none of these sufferers will allow party nor prejudice to individually or unitedly sustain the process further, but to gradually reduce the surplus feed to our now pampered, fleshy brothers. They are as a class *far more* prosperous and wealthy than farmers, mechanics, and other laborers as classes.

With these convictions, it is encouraging to labor and expend in procuring, without backing, urging, or other motive than a humane one, and publishing, without hope of profit, as much of official statistics as can be obtained uncolored. Let them be read and compared in the same spirit and as a business matter of dollars and cents.

No informed and just man will claim that protection has not stimulated manufacturers in the past, and, though it has cost the proprietors of other interests thousands of millions of dollars to do it, no one complains. The vital question of the hour is whether it is doing it now, and whether it is good policy, right or beneficial to any,

to continue this aid to such an immense and extended degree. Were our farmers and other laborers as prosperous, machinery as poor and dear, and our manufactures as young and uncombined as years ago, there would be a semblance of generosity in subsidizing such interest in the present manner. That such is not now the case is well known, and is hereinafter proved as far as *official* matter will allow. Extended travel, observation, and study have the sure result of proving to those interested with farmers and wage-workers that it is not only time, but high time, to curtail at once this tremendous, unequaled subsidy, and to curtail it rapidly.

Railroads, telegraphs, patent rights, and banks—the stock-holders of all being largely manufacturers—are growing monopolies also; but they do not, to near such extent, at present, receive direct, law-imposed subsidies and continual feed. There is not a forced legal extortion in them, except as to monopoly of patents and issue of money; and the extent of combinations among them to kill competition is small compared with present factory conditions. Sectional and national prejudice are not employed in supporting a tax for their benefit, as in factories, and the tendency of the times is to harness them down to justice, even to building government lines to compete; to issuing money direct; and to giving a premium to inventors, according to the merits of their inventions, when properly determined. These the people can do.

It would seem reasonable and sure that if the following statements, which are a classification of the ensuing statistics, are also proven by them, that no father or son who votes for the family interests, and who is interested with either farmers or other laborers can support further the present high customs duties of our country. Facts

demonstrate more need of protection to our new Western country by the rich of the old East, than needs the East from Europe at the chief expense of the West.

First and last, let a united fight be made for a gradual and a regular yearly reduction—with notice—of the protective subsidy of not more than twenty nor less than ten per cent. of the amount now levied. (Any disagreement about equalization or yearly amount of reduction would be as a diversion, and for an extension of what is now robbery.) Let all other subsidies and monopolies be forthwith cut off. Also, first and last, let it be borne in mind that the country needs no greater increase of wealth; but that farmers and other manual laborers are suffering and exhausting from the aid and protection they give to make the few of the nation richer, and which, in fact, justice and need they should themselves *receive*—and not in name alone.

Attention, Business, and Courage bring Thought and Thrift, and they will only bring relief through united action, made by individual efforts. Correct comparative statistics, uncolored, are difficult to get, and do not often prove to be for the same conditions, years, or the later dates; hence such are discarded here—though much expense, time, and labor to obtain and test them be lost.

When the following are *not* taken from the U.S. Census or official reports, the authority *is given*.

STATISTICS ON PATENTS.

Table No. 1 (page 336) gives the number of patents issued, etc. The millions made through them from purchasers, over ordinary profits, and the few owned by the inventors, is not officially given nor estimated.

STATISTICS ON BANKS.

Table No. 2 indicates the capital and profits of the National Banks; price in gold of government bonds at the time when most banks bought them; the amount of government deposits in these banks, and other details.

Table No. 3 gives statements of Savings Banks in various States in the United States and in Great Britain, with comparative deposits and bank capital elsewhere, East, West, etc.

STATISTICS ON RAILROADS.

Table No. 4 indicates the average difference in local or non-competing rates, and those in which there is competition; profits of Railroads, and the amount of government and State lands given them—there being no summary of the hundreds of millions of dollars otherwise given them.

Table No. 5 gives average cost of construction and equipment; the amount of debts per mile in 1880; and present estimated amount of stock issued and given to stockholders, called watering, together with quotations and estimated discount on bonds marketed.

Table No. 6 gives statements of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads; their indebtedness, great subsidies, and shameless ingratitude.

STATISTICS ON FARMING.

Table No. 7 indicates that protection does not increase home markets above the natural growth of them.

Table No. 8 indicates that protection does not increase, but lowers the price of farm products.

Table No. 9 indicates that prices of farm products at home are made and regulated by the ruling prices in the countries where we must sell our surplus products.

It is self-evident, and neither figures nor facts can add to the proposition, that protection cuts down our foreign markets by prohibiting trades or exchanges at or near par, hence it also reduces prices and commerce, as is shown by table No. 8 as to prices in New York, and general export prices in table No. 10, and as to commerce in table No. 11.

That a people cannot prosper by trading entirely among themselves, is probably well illustrated by the two demented individuals who thought themselves enriched by trading jackets with each other. Japan was poor, ignorant, and immoral until after 1854, when her main ports were first opened to the world. In 1887 her exports were more than \$50,000,000. Immense numbers of new plantations have been set out, and her wealth, customs, and conditions are rapidly improving. Similar improvements are true of China, whose foreign trade in 1887 amounted to \$226,747,995, mainly gained since 1842, about which time her ports were opened.

Table No. 12 shows that farming States and districts are running far behind in their proportionate increase to the general increase.

Table No. 13 indicates that prices of necessary purchases are increased about one-half by our high customs duties, including interest on additional capital used.

Tables Nos. 12 and 14 indicate that farms are depreciating in prices, soil, and general conditions, and the farmers becoming poorer and a tenantry; and that cities and factory owners are getting the bulk of the wealth resulting from farm productions with the least capital and labor invested.

That farm labor is becoming more expensive and poorer on account of high protection is shown every-

where. The U. S. Agricultural Department, in 1887, says: "There is in some places a scarcity of agricultural labor, caused by demand at apparently higher wages for labor in some specific local industry. There is also reported a general leading away from the country to the city. Low prices of farm produce has caused a reduced demand for hired labor, farmers and members of their families doing more of their own work; and many poorer farmers have left their own land and accepted employment from others. A large proportion of the farmers do not employ laborers. Over one-fourth of the farms are cultivated by tenantry. The average wages in 1888, without board, was 92 cents per day; and with board, 67 cents."

STATISTICS FOR ARTISANS, MECHANICS AND GENERAL
LABORERS.

Table No. 15 indicates the amount that wages are higher in this country than in others; that there is a similar difference between the wages in the new States and old for the same work and hours; and that the cost and custom of living differ in the same ratio as wages in the old and new worlds and the old and new States, though the former have an ocean between them.

Table No. 16 indicates that immigration to this country, as to the West varies with the advance and fall of net or real wages, and is as great from countries with high protection as from those with none.

Table No. 17 indicates that the per cent. of wages to the total value of products of manufactories for 1850 was much greater than for 1880, and that the per cent. of the cost of materials was much less.

Tables No. 8, 10, 11 and 18 indicate that protection limits markets for our products, including manufactures,

hence causes the gluts, or "over-productions," and the shutting down of factories and works.

Table No. 13 indicates that rents and living expenses are increased fully one-half by the high customs duties.

Table No. 19 shows that wages are higher in unprotected than in protected industries.

Table No. 20 is general statistics, summing up a showing which goes to prove what the natural sense of people and order of affairs testify to, that supply and demand always determine profits of work, and also the cost of living when duties and combinations are not allowed; that an increase of wealth or profits to an employer does not increase the wages he pays; and that the country is getting too rich in contrast to the laboring producers through high duties and other subsidies and combinations which are of the same parentage.

STATISTICS ON PATENTS.

Table No. 1.

Total number of patents, designs, reissues, trade marks and labels up to 1889,	435,089
Patents issued to citizens of foreign countries,	1,466
Annual cost of obtaining patents averages in late years,	\$935,484

As common illustrations of reduction of prices where patents have expired, sewing machines and most rubber goods have fallen about sixty per cent. On the latter, one man had sixty patents, but he reaped but a small portion of the benefits.

The value of products of rubber goods in

1880 was,	\$14,518,924
Value of sewing machines,	15,917,955

STATISTICS ON BANKS.

Table No. 2.

Capital of National Banks Sept. 1, 1888,	\$583,539,145
Surplus earnings,	184,416,991
Total net earnings for six months prior to September 1, 1888,	32,759,192
National Bank circulation July 1, 1864,	31,235,270
Amount of bonds on 80 per cent. basis,	39,044,087
(Value of paper dollar in gold July 1, 1864, was 38-7.10 cents.)	
Cost of above bonds in gold,	15,110,062
Bonds held by National Banks July 1, 1865—above basis,	182,672,325
Cost with gold at 70 4.10 cents,	128,601,317
Bonds held by National Banks July 1, 1866—above basis,	351,849,885
Cost with gold at 66 cents,	232,220,924

These bonds were not all purchased at above dates, but during these years, and at varying prices, and the rate of interest they drew averaged about six per cent. National Banks held deposits of United States money by last report of the Comptroller of \$56,134,463.48. Boston and New York having near twenty per cent. of them. Average per cent. of interest in United States about five per cent.

Table No. 3.

Amount of Savings Banks deposits in	
Massachusetts in 1888,	*\$302,948,624
Illinois " "	†11,830,854
Total for United States,	\$1,364,196,550
" " England or United Kingdom,	238,489,190

*Increase since 1887.....\$11,750,724
 †Decrease since 1887.....2,230,404

In the latter country the rate of Government Savings Bank interest is very low, and the amount of a deposit is limited to \$150 per year. It has also a system of Savings Banks under trustees, which report yearly about \$250,000,000 in deposits.

Aggregate capital, deposits and profits of the banks in fourteen Western States	
June, 1888,	\$1,203,078,528
Same in the six New England States	
June, 1888,	1,102,349,089
Earnings for three months, to September, 1888, of all Western National Banks on capital and surplus 5.10 per cent. Same in New England States, 3.5. Averaging at the rate of 17.34 per cent. per annum.	
Population of fourteen Western States,	23,306,300
Population of six New England States,	4,490,800

RAILROAD STATISTICS, ETC.

Table No. 4.

Average rate per mile of local freight 1880,	\$1.64
Through freight 1880,	1.01

Eight railroads made in 1880, above all liabilities, 23 per cent. and upward; nineteen companies from 10 to 11 per cent., and seven under 1 per cent. The others were intermediate.

Government lands given railroads by company reports,	
	68,000,000 acres
State lands,	35,000,000 "

Many millions more are claimed.

Miles of telegraph in United States in 1888,	180,000
Of above belonging to one company,	171,375
Miles of telephone in United States in 1888,	160,000
Of above belonging to one company,	146,488
Post offices in the United States in 1888,	57,281

[Statesman's Year Book.]

Table No. 5.

Average cost of construction of railroads per	
mile in 1880,	\$48,000
Total debt of railroads per mile in 1880,	64,000
Total miles in 1880,	87,782
“ “ “ 1888,	156,082

“Twenty railroads expanded their capital stock in twenty-two months forty per cent. In less than four years, nine railroads increased 150 per cent. One-half, at least, being water or issued in lieu of profits to owners!” * * * *

“We have no means of knowing what proportion of the capital stock of the railroads of this country is fictitious. An estimate made two years ago placed it at about one-third, and it is probably much larger now: hence their rates are fully one-third higher than they should be.”—*Chicago Tribune*.

The Pennsylvania Railroad, in sixteen years, swelled its capital and indebtedness from \$20,000,000 to \$65,000,000, and had a net profit of about \$10,000,000 yearly. The New York Central Railroad had, in 1869, 1,000 miles of track and a capital of \$100,000,000. In 1870, seventeen companies had been reduced to three, and 4,500 miles of road had not less than \$250,000,000 of capital.”—*Charles Francis Adams*.

The Erie Railroad owes \$107,119 per mile of track; the Baltimore and Ohio \$98,556 per mile.

These would show a fictitious indebtedness, on which interest and dividends must be paid by patrons of railroads of about \$2,000,000,000, besides the discounts, averaging about twenty per cent., at which the railroad bonds were marketed.

Table No. 6.

The indebtedness of the Union Pacific Railroad was \$113,110 per mile. Government Director Williams reported to the Secretary of the Interior that the approximate total cost in cash was \$35,000 per mile. Its length is 1,029 miles. The cost of the Central Pacific Railroad was reported at \$114,358 per mile, and the road is 881 miles in length, exclusive of branches. Allowing the cost of this road to have been \$5,000 per mile greater than that of the Union Pacific, the two together show an indebtedness of \$145,884,588 above their actual cost, and they have always been operated at a large profit. (The census of 1880 showed 53.7 per cent. for one and 46.1 per cent. for the other as income). This was made from Government aid obtained through Congress.

STATISTICS ON FARMING.

Table No. 7.

Value of farms	1850,	.	.	.	.	\$	3,271,575,426
"	"	1860,	.	.	.	.	6,645,045,007
"	"	1870,	.	.	.	.	9,262,803,861
"	"	1880,	.	.	.	.	10,197,096,777

These show from 1850 to 1860—the low tariff period—an increase in value of 103 per cent.; from 1860 to 1870, forty per cent., and from 1870 to 1880, eleven per cent.

Bushels of breadstuffs raised	1860,	.	.	.	.	1,032,099,046
Exports	"	"	.	.	.	\$24,422,310
Bushels of	"	raised 1880,	.	.	.	2,233,906,408
Exports	"	"	.	.	.	\$288,036,835

Showing that with over twice the amount produced in 1880 as in 1860, there was nearly twelve times as much exported.

Number of cattle, sheep, and swine raised in	
1860,	70,763,515
Exports of same in 1860,	\$1,463,642
Number of cattle, sheep, and swine raised in	
1880,	105,362,234
Exports of same in 1880,	\$14,657,931

Showing that with about one-half more produced in 1880, the exports were about ten times as great, notwithstanding the "home market" theory.

Table No. 8.

Average prices paid in New York for the leading farm products during the high tariff and the low tariff periods since 1824 :

High Tariff Periods.			Low Tariff Periods.		
Wheat per bushel,	\$1.14		Wheat per bushel,	\$1.41	
Rye " "	.69		Rye " "	.80	
Oats " "	.39		Oats " "	.45	
Corn " "	.61		Corn " "	.75	
Pork " bbl.	12.67		Pork " bbl.	16.63	
Beef " "	8.50		Beef " "	12.47	

In 1887 the United States exported to

Great Britain in wheat and corn,	78,618,898 bush.
Germany,	3,527,024 "
Population of Great Britain,	35,000,000
" " Germany,	44,000,000

Table No. 9.

As Liverpool regulates the prices of the products of the Old World, her *average* prices of the principal necessities of life, from June 1, 1880, to June 1, 1889, are subjoined ; also the comparative prices of the same articles in New York on the same days, with the ocean transportation for

those days. Over 1,000 calculations were necessary—after obtaining the entire prices—in reducing quantities and currency to equivalents, but their correctness is verified by Mr. J. C. Brown, the able statistician of the New York Produce Exchange. He also says that the old axiom that prices the world over are the same is true, considering fluctuations in freights (which varied once last year from one-quarter of a cent to thirteen cents per bushel of wheat) and excepting manipulations and temporary gluts of the markets.

Average daily price of wheat per bushel in New York from 1880, to June, 1889,	\$1.06
Average daily rate of freight to Liverpool from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . .	.07 ½
Average daily price of wheat in Liverpool from 1880 to June, 1889,	1.19
Average price of handling and profits from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . .	.05 ½
Average daily price of corn per bush. in New York from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . .	.57
Average rate of freight to Liverpool from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . .	.07 ½
Average daily price of corn in Liverpool from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . .	.67
Average price of handling and profits from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . .	.02 ½
Average daily price of pork per bbl. in New York from 1880 to June, 1889,	14.65
Average rate of freight to Liverpool from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . .	.65
Average daily price of pork per bbl. in Liverpool from 1880 to June, 1889,	17.36

Average price of handling and profits from 1880 to June, 1889,	2.06
Average daily price of beef per tierce in New York from 1880 to June, 1889,	19.23
Average rate of freight to Liverpool from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . . .	.84
Average daily price of beef per tierce in Liver- pool from 1880 to June, 1889,	22.54
Average price of handling and profits from 1880 to June, 1889,	2.47
Average daily price of lard per 100 lbs. in New York from 1880 to June, 1889,	8.66
Average rate of freight to Liverpool from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . . .	.65
Average daily price of lard per 100 lbs. in Liver- pool from 1880 to June, 1889,	9.37
Average price of handling and profits from 1880 to June, 1889, . . . . .	.06

It is noticeable, in comparing daily prices, that when Liverpool prices or ocean freights change, the New York prices change with them in the same ratio, other conditions being the same. For instance, on July 2, 1888, wheat fell to \$0.96 in Liverpool and to \$0.87¼ in New York, the freight for that day being \$0.3¾ per bush.; but on September 1, wheat raised in Liverpool to \$1.13, hence the price in New York was raised to \$0.98¼, freights having advanced to \$0.11. On June 1, 1889, however, wheat fell in Liverpool to \$0.93 9-16, ocean freights to \$0.07, and wheat in New York, where our inland prices are regulated, fell to \$0.80¼. Beef, on May 1, 1888, stood at \$15.49 in Liverpool, in New York at \$11.50; while ocean freight was \$0.36, but in Decem-

ber the Liverpool price rose to \$24.91, the New York price to \$18.00, the freight having risen to \$1.44 per tierce. Other products and periods likewise. Above prices are all correct, but profits shown are not complete because daily quantities vary.

Table No. 10.

Five year periods:

Average export price of products per bushel:

Corn, 1855 to 1860 (low tariff period),	.	\$0.75
“ 1883 to 1888 (high tariff period),	. . .	.56
Wheat, 1855 to 1860 (low tariff period),	.	1.33
“ 1883 to 1888 (high tariff period),	. . .	.94
Bacon, 1855 to 1860 (low tariff period),	.	.09¼
“ 1883 to 1888 (high tariff period),	. . .	.09.1
Beef, 1855 to 1860 (low tariff period),	.	.07.7
“ 1883 to 1888 (high tariff period),	. . .	.06⅞

Table No. 11.

Percentage of the tonnage of American and foreign vessels which entered the sea-ports of the United States from foreign countries during high tariff and low tariff periods, so far as reports are given:

	American.	Foreign.
From 1824 to 1834, high tariff,	.83.3	.16.7
“ 1843 to 1846, “ “ . .	.68	.32
“ 1870 to 1885, “ “ . .	.27	.73
“ 1791 to 1812, low tariff,	.85	.15
“ 1834 to 1843, “ “ . .	.72	.28
“ 1847 to 1861. “ “ . .	.65	.35

Table No 12.

Increase of wealth in the eleven small manufacturing States from 1860 to 1880,.....	\$14,622,230,351
Increase of wealth in all the other States for same period,.....	12,453,708,252
Total capital invested in manufactures in 1860,.....	1,009,855,715
Total capital invested in agriculture in 1860,.....	7,980,492,063
Value of manufactured products for 1880,.....	5,369,579,191
Value of agricultural products for 1880,	2,212,540,927
Per cent. of increase of farm values from 1850 to 1860,.....	103
Same from 1870 to 1880,.....	104.5
Per cent of increase of manufacturing capital from 1850 to 1860,.....	89
Same from 1870 to 1880,.....	31.7
Per cent. of increase of number manufactories from 1860 to 1870,.....	14
Per cent. of increase of number of manufactories from 1870 to 1880,.....	$\frac{2}{3}$ of 1
Percentage of city population to total, 1860,.....	16
Same for 1880,.....	22 $\frac{1}{2}$
Per cent. of total increase of State, county and city debts in United States from 1870 to 1880,.....	21
Same of Western or farming States,.....	46
Total increase of indebtedness of States, counties and towns, from 1860 to 1880,	\$1,031,556,278
Increase of population of the ten Eastern and Middle States from 1860 to 1880,.....	3,947,531
Same of the ten chief Western States,.....	7,857,201
Increase of wealth of the ten Eastern and Middle States from 1860 to 1880,.....	\$14,140,150,385
Same for the ten chief Western States (mainly immigration),	9,043,993,993

The ten Eastern and Middle States report an increase of debt from 1870 to 1880 of 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while the ten chief Western States show an increase in the same period of 2,385.3-5 per cent., notwithstanding the immense immigration to the latter States.

Individual mortgage debt, mainly Western, in 1880, was estimated at about four billion dollars, while the national debt is about one billion.

Total value of farms in 1860,	\$ 6,645,045,007
" " " 1880,	10,197,096,777
Total wealth of the country in 1860,	16,159,616,068
" " " 1880,	43,642,000,000

Fifty-one per cent. of United States registered bonds were lately held by residents of 121 cities.

Table No. 13.

Customs duties on the following articles are :

Wool, flax or cotton carpets, mats, rugs, 40 per cent.	All glass from 1c. to 60c. per sq. ft.
Burlaps 30 to 40 per cent.	Gloves 50 per cent.
Soft coal 75c. per ton.	Glycerine 5c. per lb.
Iron bars \$17.00 per ton.	Grindstones \$1.75 per ton.
Charcoal \$22.00 per ton.	Hoop iron 8c. per lb.
Baskets 30 per cent.	India rubber boots and shoes 25 per cent.
Bags and bagging 40 per cent.	Iron in all shapes 1c. to 12c. per lb.
Common alcohol \$1.00 per gal.	All screws 6c. to 12c. per lb.
White lead 60c. per lb.	Horseshoe iron 4c. per lb.
Bunting 10c. per yd. and 35 per cent. on the price.	Railway bars \$17.00 per ton
Brushes 25 per cent.	Laudanum 40 per cent.
Burrstones 20 per cent.	Lead manufactures 45 per cent.
House furniture 35 per cent.	Lead pencils 50c. per gross and 30 per cent. of value.
Wood casks 30 per cent.	Manufactures of leather 30 to 50 per cent.
Gun caps 40 per cent.	Manilla cordage \$25.00 per ton.
Cedar wood-ware 35 per cent.	All manufactures of metals not specially enumerated 45 per cent.
Cheroots \$2.50 per lb. and 25 per cent. on price.	Marble 65c. to \$1.10 per ft.
Cutlery 35 to 50 per cent.	Cut nails 1 1/4 c. per lb.
Children's woolen garments, except knit, 45c. per lb., and 40 per cent of the price.	Other nails 4c. per lb.
Clapboards \$1.50 to \$2.00 per 1,000.	Oil cloths 40 per cent.
Clocks 30 per cent.	Copper ore 2 1/2 c. per lb.
General clothing, outer and under, 40c. per lb. and 35 per cent. of the price.	Iron ore 75c. per ton.
General harness furniture 35 per cent.	Parasols, plain covered, 40 per cent.
Copper 35 per cent.	Manufactures of pewter 45 per cent.
Cotton goods 35 to 40 per cent.	Pipes and pipe bowls 70 per cent.
Crash, of jute, hemp or flax, 35 per cent.	Lead pipe 3c. per lb.
Crow-bars 2 1/2 c. per lb.	Iron and steel pipe 2 1/4 c. per lb.
Cotton lace curtains 40 per cent	Playing cards 100 per cent.
Earthenware 20, 55 and 60 per cent.	Proprietary medicines 50 per cent.
Mackerel and salmon 1c. per lb	Salt 8c. per 100 lbs.
Linen thread, twine, etc. 40 per cent.	Santonine \$3.00 per lb.
Matches 35 per cent.	Shingles 35c. per 1000.
Lemons \$2.00 per 1,000.	Spikes 1 1/4 to 2c. per lb.
Oranges \$1.60 per 1,000.	Steel manufactures 2 to 12c per lb.

Steel files and rasps 35c. to \$2.50 per doz.	Straw bonnets, etc., 30 per cent.
Cotton stockings 40 per cent.	Sugar $1\frac{1}{4}$ c. to $3\frac{1}{4}$ c. per lb.
Sawed lumber \$1.00 to \$2.00 per 1000 ft.	Suspenders 35 to 50 per cent.
Unmanufactured wool 20 per cent.	Tonics 50 per cent.
Cast iron stove plates 30 per cent.	Whale bone 30 per cent.
	All webbings 30c. per lb. and 50 per cent. of price.
	Zinc manufactures 45 per cent.

Besides this, say 40 per cent. additional capital is required by every handler of above and other goods, on which a profit of from ten to twenty-five per cent. is charged by each, and the trusts get a large addition through the shutting out of competition by a high restricting tariff. Houses, railroads, near everything costs more, hence rents and rates are higher in greater ratio.

Table No. 14.

There are no statistics on farm values since those of 1880, which showed a depreciation since 1860 of \$715 per farm; yet from reports of State secretaries and associations, and from the great depreciation in prices of farm products, there is evidently a still greater decrease in the value of farms since 1880.

The United States census of 1880, speaking of soil of farms, says: "Decline under this regimen must sooner or later come. Resort must then be had to the 'West.'"

The reports of the Commissioners of Agriculture, from 1882 to 1889, show that the average production of the chief cereals fell off as follows:

Illinois,	wheat	from 17.7 to 13	bushels per acre.
Indiana,	"	" 16.5 to 11.3	" " "
Kansas,	"	" 19.9 to 14.6	" " "

Corn averaged $28\frac{2}{3}$ bushels per acre, and oats lost an average of $2\frac{2}{3}$ bushels per acre in the above States and period. The Eastern States show a much greater decrease.

The *Boston Herald*, of November 17, 1889, contains the following advertisement :

FOR SALE—Greatest chance of a lifetime to buy for \$650, a fine farm of 160 acres; 100 of it in heavy wood, 60 in pasture, mowing and tillage; good house, 10 rooms; barn 40x60, sheds, etc.; finely located, convenient to beautiful lake, great summer resort; fine markets for sale of farm products at big prices; near village, etc., and the well-known Hanover College. Including horse, carriage, farm wagon, hay, household furniture, etc. Immediate application to ———, Boston.

Farms in the United States, between 50 and 100 acres, have increased in number since 1870, 37 per cent. Those between 500 and 1,000 acres, 500 per cent., and over 1,000 acres, 800 per cent.

"In 1883, 18,000,000 acres were owned by eight proprietors, while the railroads owned 200,000,000 more. Total value of farms increased from 1870 to 1880, about 10 per cent.; manufactures increased in capital near 70 per cent., and in value of products about 60 per cent., though the number of establishments increased but about $\frac{2}{3}$ of 1 per cent."—*Statesman's Year Book*, 1889.

Farms cultivated by tenantry, 1880, 26 per cent.

Total number of mortgages in Illinois, 1880,	180,790
" amount " " "	\$196,656,074
" number " " "	1887, 310,267
" amount " " "	\$402,053,118

The above late report is given as an illustration of a farming State's indebtedness, and Ohio follows with a mortgage indebtedness of \$330,999,206, while the Eastern statistical reports make no note of such indebtedness. Massachusetts reports "every kind of manufacturing industry well established." The president of the New Jersey State Board of Agriculture, says: "Agriculture at present is the most poorly paid industry in the country. The mining, manufacturing, and in fact, every other industry, is thoroughly organized, and they are prepared to maintain and defend their institutions. And while the farmers outnumber in membership that of any other

industry, they remain unorganized, and practically allow others to think and make laws for them."

Thousands of farmers vote for party and prejudice, thousands more vote as some rich man or fashionable dude does, and some follow the advice of a theoretical teacher or preacher, instead of voting for farm and family interests.

Table No 15.

Average daily wages in the manufacture of various articles in foreign countries and in our different States, so far as officially reported in our labor reports:

<i>Agricultural Implements.</i>		<i>Paper.</i>	
Maine,	\$1.76	Massachusetts,	\$1.57
Kentucky,	1.81	Oregon,	2.05
Illinois,	1.99	<i>Wooden Goods.</i>	
<i>Carpetings.</i>		Virginia,	\$1.34
Massachusetts,	\$1.31	California,	2.45
Great Britain,	1.20	<i>Woolen Goods.</i>	
<i>Coal, Coke and Ore.</i>		Maine,	\$1.42
Pennsylvania,	\$1.72	Pennsylvania,	1.65
Ohio,	1.73	Iowa,	1.81
Great Britain,	1.02	Great Britain, .....	.88
<i>Cotton Goods.</i>		<i>Miscellaneous Goods.</i>	
Maine,	\$1.23	Maine,	\$1.77
New Jersey,	1.44	New Jersey,	2.00
Germany, .....	.60	Great Britain,	1.54
Great Britain,	1.17	<i>General work in 1825, after low tariff.</i>	
<i>Jute Goods.</i>		United States,	\$1.28
New York,	\$1.49	France, .....	.63
California,	2.04	England,	1.07
<i>Leather.</i>		<i>Report of United States Labor Commissioner.</i>	
Massachusetts,	\$1.56	<i>Average daily wages in Berlin, Germany.</i>	
California,	2.06	Carpetings,	\$0.90
<i>Machinery.</i>		Wooden goods, .....	.88½
Massachusetts,	\$1.95	Woolen goods,	1.07
California,	2.06	Metallic goods, .....	.82¾
<i>Metallic Goods.</i>		<i>From United States Consular's Report.</i>	
Vermont,	\$1.86		
Kentucky,	2.19		
California,	2.52		
Belgium, .....	.66		
Great Britain,	1.34		

In Leipsic, Germany, *all* general industries are reported to average for males, \$3.48, for females, \$1.72 per week.

From general and official reports received from nearly every State and country, tables have been made for this work relating to the subject of wages and cost of living. But the thousand different conditions entering into comparisons make them subject to partial showings, hence generally useless. The following are the fairest comparisons. The wages of coal miners in the West seem to average \$14.03 per week, while in the East they show an average of but \$9.69 per week. California reports \$3.00 per day, Illinois \$2.74, and Pennsylvania \$1.43.

Iron mining.—Lake Superior \$2.31 per day, and Pennsylvania \$0.93½.

Cost of a ton of pig iron in New York, \$11.83; same kind in Indiana, \$12.80, and in Great Britain, \$11.87.

Cotton sheeting costs to make in Maine, 5c. per yd.; same kind and weight in France, 6c. per yd.

One yd. print cloth costs in Vermont, 2.8c.; same measure and weight in Great Britain, 2.7c.

Average wages per week of 66 hours, in New Hampshire cotton mills, \$6.18; same in Great Britain, \$5.64 per week of 56 hours.

Average wages of all employes in the manufacture of iron and steel in Massachusetts, \$395 per year of nine months' work, 60 hours per week; average wages in Illinois in the same industry, \$475.63 per year of nine months, 63 hours per week.

Wages of all mill employes, in California, average \$3.71 per day; same employment in Pennsylvania, average \$2.28 per day. Merriwether in his "Tramp Trip through

Europe on 50 cents a day," is, without doubt, correct in his tables and statements, showing that "where there is the least protection the highest wages are paid."

Nineteen tables of English workingmen's families, averaging 4.9-10 to a family, show average earnings per year of,	\$508.74
Average expenses per year,	496.43
Fourteen tables of German workingmen's families, averaging $4\frac{1}{3}$ to a family, show average earnings per year of,	268.30
Average expenses per year,	265.74
Seven tables of Swiss workingmen's families, averaging $4\frac{3}{8}$ to a family, show average earnings per year of,	435.04
Average expenses per year,	368.86
<i>(From United States Labor Statistics.)</i>	

A consular report of five German families, shows an average income from labor,	\$237.00
Average expenses per year,	251.00
Late reports of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor for the State of Massachusetts, show that the average yearly earnings of 19 workingmen's families, averaging 5.1-10 to a family, were	803.47
Average expenses per year,	754.42
In Iowa the average yearly earnings for 20 workingmen's families, averaging $4\frac{1}{6}$ to a family, were	627.12
Average expenses per year,	332.07

All of the above statistics are taken as they are given in official reports, and the family tables are the averages of all given.

Table No. 16.

Arrival of foreign passengers in the United States in
 1837, 79,340; 1838, 38,914; 1847, 234,968;
 1848, 226,527; 1857, 250,880; 1858, 122,872;
 1861-'62, 91,824; 1873, 473,141.

Continued to decrease to 1878, when it was 157,776.

In 1882, 816,272.

Evidently showing that the panics and hard times during the above periods, which produced low wages, reduced immigration. Where the conditions of the above are reversed, the results are also reversed.

Immigration from Great Britain from 1877 to

June, 1888, 798,591

Same from Germany, 1,438,856

Table No. 17.

Per cent. of wages to entire products of manufac-
 tures for 1850, 23.1-5

Per cent. of materials to entire products for 1850, 50.3-5

Per cent. of wages to entire products of manuufac-
 tures for 1880, 17 $\frac{2}{3}$

Per cent. of materials to entire products for 1880, 63 $\frac{1}{2}$

Table No. 18.

From 1834 to 1842 (low tariff period), our
 exports increased to a yearly average of \$99,760,500

From 1842 to 1847 (high tariff period), they
 averaged yearly, 114,503,634

From 1847 to 1860 (low tariff period), ex-
 ports averaged, 263,506,345

For the next period of 5 years (high tariff
 period), which includes the war and the
 great "booms" in immigration and agri-
 culture, they averaged yearly 247,405,571

(From American Almanac.)

Appendix—Explanations.

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Strikes and lockouts for 1860,	2
" " " " 1886,	12,074
" " " " 1880 to 1887 (protected industries),	10,647
Strikes and lockouts from 1880 to 1887 (unprotected industries),	4,505

Table No. 19.

Average wages in all non-protected industries—as carpenters, butchers, drivers, bakers, millers, freight-handlers, smiths, barbers, etc., per day,	\$2.34
Same in all protected industries,	1.64
<i>(From the States and United States labor reports.)</i>	

Table No. 20.

Wool carder in California, wages per day,	\$4.00
" " Illinois, " " "	2.75
" " Massachusetts, " " "	1.92½
Common laborer in iron rolling mills, Illinois,	1.37
" " " " " Pennsylvania,	1.06
Wood working in California, wages per day,	2.00
" " Massachusetts " " "	1.00
Average wages per year in low protected wool mills in United States,	293.00
Average wages in high protected silk mills in United States,	292.00
Per cent. of increase in products of manufactures of United States from 1850 to 1860, . . .	85
Same from 1870 to 1880,	58
Total number engaged in manufactures, mining, and mechanical work in United States, in 1880,	3,837,112

Value of lumber products United States, 1880,	\$240,000,000
“ “ “ “ “ 1888,	600,000,000
Wages paid for lumber products in United States in 1888,	31,845,974
Exports from England (mainly manufactures), to Germany, in 1887,	78,085,000
Average house rents in the Eastern States, per month,	8.40
Average rent for similar house in the Western States, per month,	\$ 11.20
Cost of average family necessities in England, per year,	496.43
Same in Massachusetts (similar),	754.42
Average United States customs duties, per cent.,	47.1-10
Savings Banks deposits in 1887 in Eastern manufacturing States,	\$1,116,741,350
Total in all other States,	118,506,021

This certifies that I have carefully compared the statements and tables in the above appendix, and have found them as printed in the United States census and the other official documents quoted.

J. G. MAXEY.

NOTES.

The United States census of 1880 says: "The cost of labor in the finished fabric has been reduced by the greater productive power of machinery. In 1860 the average product of one operative was 5,317 lbs. of cotton drill; in 1880 it was 7,928 lbs. The proportion of operatives to each 1,000 spindles has been decreased 43 per cent., and the cost of making the cloth, aside from material, has been decreased 21 per cent. Our proximity to the cotton field will enable the New England manufacturer to pay from 15 to 20 per cent. higher wages than his competitors in England."

A late report of the United States Commissioner of Labor says: "In woolen goods, machinery has reduced the amount of labor 36 per cent. in the past few years, and in the spinning and weaving departments has taken the place of 20 times the hand-labor formerly employed. In fact, in nearly every department of production, statements as positive and emphatic as those made for the industries examined, might be secured, each horsepower now equaling the labor of six men * * * * West of England broadcloth, worth \$3.60 per yard in Leeds, England, pays a total duty in the United States of 50.3-10 per cent.; cotton-warp reversible cloth is worth but 45c. per yd. at the factory, and pays a duty in the United States of 180.7-10 per cent. That is to say, the cheaper the goods at the factory, the greater is the proportional increment of duty."—*From late report of United States Commissioner of Labor.*

Yet but few read such plain statements, though reliable. As a sample of political paper, insulting buncombe which many read, the *New York Tribune*, of August 23,

1889, stated "that England paid \$300,000 for carrying mails between Vancouver's and Hong Kong, which *disposes* (!) of the argument that the abolition of the tariff would restore American commerce." This is also as ridiculous as Mr. Blaine's present promises of permanent South American trade and low tariff, or Mr. Sherman's anti-trust bill at these late days of their long service and bitter opposition to them. Political buncombe and promises are so thin that many people seem to swallow them readily.

The late elections further prove that the people must take possession of one or the other of the old parties and control it for their use, but it must be a national movement. Leaders may want new parties, but why?

It is doubtless well to do well what one is well fitted to do.

The success of any and all combinations, whether of labor or capital, are to the financial detriment of any industry not so successfully combined or organized.

The sure appearances are, that the proposed steamship subsidies and coast defenses are purposed to squander treasury surpluses so as to justify the continuance of the present excessive taxation of the general producers, on their consumptions.

Calderon, the distinguished writer and merchant of Bolivia, says of trade between our country and their South American States: "The United States, on their part, will have to modify their absurd system of protection." This done largely, then will follow commerce on the seas and through railroad trains by land; greatly increased demand and enhanced prices for both farm and factory productions, and a forced increase of wages.

In Home life many, probably, envy those who decorate with flowers, lawns, statuary, etc. They forget that in viewing them they get the same benefit as the owners, without being at the cost, care, and risk of them.

The *Cincinnati Gazette* (Republican), of December 2, 1889, says of the organization of this, the Fifty-first House of Congress: "Seized by the Senate. But this is not all, the balance making a still sadder story, Corporation influences an imposing factor in the result and a Canadian railroad, the great Pacific, invaded the legislative halls * * * * New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have 67 Republican votes, 60 of these under open and defiant leadership, bulldozed enough of the remaining 109 Western and Southern Representatives to make themselves masters of the whole field. Thus, out of 119 *places* on the House rolls, all but 27 are at the control of the combine, though they are a decided minority. * * * * The Canadian Pacific Railroad, acting through its New England allies, unless reports, nowhere denied, are erroneous, was active and potent * * * * When the West, with two votes for every one of its Eastern opponents is defeated by the latter, Western readers have a right to be pointed to the true reason for it."

The *Times-Star*—the same politically—cautiously said of the same affair: "Some reprehensible electioneering tactics have evidently been employed * * * * The election of Reed is a triumph for Senator Quay." The people of the West and South must stand together for their business interests or be financial wrecks and slaves.

The publisher of this book offers a best bound copy of it, as an acknowledgment, to every person sending him an objection of sufficient weight to prove any of the following propositions—in a general sense—impracticable and of no benefit to four-fifths of the inhabitants of the United States.

1. That the Government purchase at a proper price in reasonable time, and operate under the civil service rules, the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones.

2. That city governments do the same with water, gas, and electric supplies, and possibly street railroads.

3. That ownership of *ground* be limited to a valuation of from \$1,000 to \$1,000,000 owing to a percentage of improvement thereon, said condition to be brought about by a "single tax" on unimproved realty.

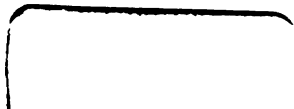
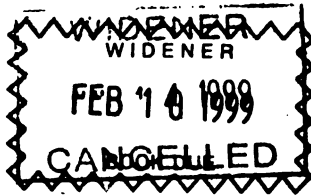
4. That the present and future owners of inventions be given an award, fixed by a United States commission, in lieu of any monopoly of use.

5. That a promise of our Government to pay from one dollar to ten thousand dollars is good enough for any of her citizens to use as a symbol in exchanges without vaults full of dead gold and silver.—Her bonds at four per cent. interest, with no deposit, are quoted at twenty-seven per cent. above par!

6. That a reduction of duties begin at once, averaging twenty per cent. yearly, and to range from ten to twenty-five per cent. The apportionment of the percentage of reduction on each article to be made by a commission of two from each industry in the country.



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